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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

IV



LONDON WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK THE MACMILLAN CO
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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FOUR VOLUMES

IV



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THE CIVIL WARS

ΑΙΗΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΤΑΙΩΝ

Γ'

IV

CAP.
IV

27. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπενόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἡξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Κελτικὴν, ἣς ἡγεῖτο Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος, εἰδὼς μὲν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὁρμώμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὥς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινέ τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἥσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενούουν. ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν

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THE CIVIL WARS

BOOK III.—*continued*

IV

27. ANTONY conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Caesar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now, for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money in case Antony should resort to violence, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law

CHAP.
IV
B.C. 44
Antony
brings the
Macedonian
army to
Italy

CAP.
IV. δῆμον αἰτῆσαι νόμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν Δολοβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαῖῳ τὸν Ἰόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσῃν, ὡς προσετέτακτο· θέαι δ' ἦσαν, ἃς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσειν· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θέας τῷ πατρὶ τὸν τε χρύσειον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θέας ἐψηφίσαντο προτίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἤγεν ὡς ὑπάτον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, “ἀνάφερε,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ἡ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω.” καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσεν. ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεῶν ὁ πατήρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει. τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μῖσος ἤδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγίγνετο, ὡς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν Καίσαρα φιλονικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

Αὐτὸς τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἷα φρουρᾶς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτευεν οὐ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

in the same manner that Caesar had obtained it at a former time, and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundisium.

CHAP.
IV

28. Gaius proceeded to do as ordered. Meanwhile there had arrived the time for the games which the aedile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavian made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and garland, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Caesar to be honoured in this way at games given at his expense, Octavian brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavian was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony became angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honour of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. Then at last it became evident that universal hatred of Antony was already growing out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Caesar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one.

Growing
rivalry
between
Octavian
and Antony

Octavian himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them to pay no attention to

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{IV} πάσχοντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἐκόντος, Καίσαρι δὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἀμύνειν, ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου· ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι βέβαιον ὧν εἰλήφασι παρὰ Καίσαρος, εἰ μὴδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατεβόα· “Καίσαρι μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ μῆτε ὀργίζεσθαι μῆτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργέτη σου μάλιστα, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγενημένῳ· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὕβρεων, ἐς ὅσον θέλεις, ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν, μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν· ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πενομένῳ τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἣν διαμένῃ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, ἔαν ἑάσης δοθῆναι.”

29. Ἐφ’ οἷς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντες ὥρμητο· καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου ταξίάρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου τότε προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίουσαν καὶ διὰ σφᾶς καὶ δι’ ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ’ ἐκείνου τυχόντα. συγγιγνώσκων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδούμενος, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος, ὠμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμνυεν αὐτὰ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

himself, though the victim of so many and so great outrages, and to ignore him, by his own request, but to defend Caesar, their commander and benefactor, against the insults of Antony; to defend themselves too, because they would never be secure in what they had received from Caesar unless the decrees passed in his honour should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere throughout the city, leaping up on to any elevated spot, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with Caesar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. On me heap indignities to your heart's content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me."

29. Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in more bitter threats against Octavian, and when they became known the people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony's guard, who had served under the elder Caesar, and who were then in the highest favour with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Caesar and had obtained his present good fortune at Caesar's hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavian himself with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore

CHAP.
IV

The
military
tribunes
intervene

CAP.
IV οἱ πάνυ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ νεανίσκου ἕνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένον τε ἐπαχθῶς ἔτι τηλικούδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος αἰδέσιμον ἢ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς ἄρχοντας· ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου χρήζειν ἔτι νουθεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξιούντων ἕνεκα αὐτὸς καθέξειν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπανήξειν, ἣν κακῆϊνος ἀπέχεται τῆς ἀμετρίας.

30. Ταῦτα οἱ ταξίάρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνήγον ἀμφοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέβαινον ἐς φιλίαν. ὃ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς προυγράφετο αὐτίκα, ὀρρωδούσης πάνυ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν προβουλεύοι, κωλύειν προβουλευόμενον, εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρει, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐς κώλυσιν ἐπιπέμπειν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλως ἐλευθεροῦν ἡγεμονίας ἠξίου· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγχοῦ τὴν Κελτικὴν οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ Δέκμῳ μὲν αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτῷ δ' ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν καταστρεψάμενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρίπτων ἤδη ταῦτα φανερώς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφηδομένους τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν βουλή τὴν λοχίτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοι-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

that what he had done had been quite contrary to his intention, but that he changed his purpose because the young man was inordinately puffed up, being still a youth and showing no respect for his elders and no honour for those in authority. Although for his own benefit the young man still needed reproof, yet in deference to their remonstrances he would restrain his anger and return to his former disposition and intention, if Octavian, also, would curb his presumption.

30. The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavian together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to send the tribunes of the people to veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of entrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Caesar's murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees¹—throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate expected that the people would be summoned by centuries, but the Antonians, who had enclosed the forum

CHAP
IV

Antony
obtains
Cisalpine
Gaul with
Octavian's
help

¹ There is some confusion here. Caesar did not subdue Cisalpine Gaul.

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CAP. ^{IV} νισάμενοι τὴν φυλέτιν ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐληλυθυῖαν. καὶ ὁ δημότης λεώς, ἀχθόμενος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συνέπρασσε ὅμως διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐφeskῶτα τοῖς περισχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον. ἐδεῖτο δὲ μάλιστα μέν, ἵνα μὴ Δέκμος ἄρχοι χώρας τε ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀνδροφόνος ὢν τοῦ πατρός, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου συνηλλαγμένου. προσεδόκα δὲ ἄρα τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. διαφθαρέντων δὲ χρήμασι τῶν δημάρχων ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατασιωπώντων ὁ νόμος ἐκυροῦτο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' αἰτίας εὐπρεποῦς ἤδη τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπέρα.

V

CAP. ^V 31. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐς τὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ συνέπρασσε Φλαμινίῳ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλειν, ἐπενόουν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις δῆμαρχον ἀποφῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθόνηι καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ δημαρχῶν τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι. Ἀντωνίος τε τῆς ἄρτι συγκειμένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδὼν, εἴτε ἐς χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἢ παρηγορίαν, ἀχθομένης τῷ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

with a rope during the night summoned them by tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon.¹ Although the plebeians were incensed against Antony they nevertheless co-operated with him for the sake of Octavian, who stood alongside the rope and begged them to do so. He did this in order that Decimus, who had been one of his father's murderers, might not have the government of so convenient a province, and of the army belonging to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was now in league with him. He expected also to get some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes, too, had been corrupted with money by Antony and remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony now with plausible reason began to bring his army across the Adriatic.

V

31. ONE of the tribunes of the people having died Octavian favoured the election of Flaminius as his successor. The people thought that he was ambitious of this office for himself, but that he refrained from being a candidate because he was under age, and accordingly, they proposed to cast their votes for him for tribune. The Senate begrudged him this increase of power, fearing lest, as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony, in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavian, either to curry favour with the Senate, or to appease

CHAP.
IV

CHAP.
V
Antony
again
opposes
Octavian

¹ The reading of all the codices is that Antony wanted the votes to be taken by centuries and not by tribes, whereas that plan would have defeated him. Editors accordingly transpose the words "centuries" and "tribes."

CAP. ^V περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς νόμῳ, εἴτε ἀπ' οἰκείας γνώμης, πρὸς γραφὴν ὡς ὑπάτος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγχειρεῖν παρανόμως, ἢ χρήσεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας. ἀχαρίστου δ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ὑβριστικῆς ἅμα ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῆς προγραφῆς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος διώργιστο καὶ φιλονικήσκειν ἔμελλον ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ὥστε δεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν, τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον· ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ, ὡς σαφῶς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ἤδη, πολλοὺς περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποικίδας πόλεις ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἃ πάσχοι, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστων γνώμην καταμανθάνειν· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατόπεδα ἐπιμίγνυσθαί τινας ἀγορὰν φέροντας καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θαρροῦσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τὸ πλήθος διαρριπτεῖν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.

32. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν· οἱ ταξίαρχοι δὲ αὐθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καιρὸν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον· “ ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ σοῦ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρεταὶ γιγνόμενοι διετελοῦμεν, ἔχθει μὲν ἴσως καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τοὺς φονέας αὐτοῦ γιννώσκομεν εἰς ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκείνοις ἐπιρρέπουσαν, τοῦ δήμου δ' ἐξελάσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀνεθαρρήσαμεν, οὐ πάντῃ τὰ Καίσαρος ὀρώντες ἄφιλα οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα. τὴν δ' ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν εἶχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλῳ τε Καίσαρος ὄντι καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ μετ' ἐκείνῳ ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἄρχοντι νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice; as consul, that Octavian should not attempt anything contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use the full measure of his authority against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavian, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavian, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and file.

32. While Octavian was doing this the military tribunes again sought an audience with Antony and addressed him thus: "We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Caesar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers equally hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favours them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Caesar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Caesar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such.

CHAP.
V

The
tribunes
again
intervene

CAP.
V. ἐπιτηδείῳ. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ θρασέως ἔς τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς σοι Δέκμον ἐπαλειφούσης, καὶ σοῦ τὰς φροντίδας ἔς τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν δαπανῶντος, δέδιμεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἔς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐπω παρόντα πόλεμον ἢ στάσις ὑμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθῇται καὶ διαπραχθῇ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἃ βούλονται. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντα σε ἀξιούμεν, ὁσίας τε χάριν ἔς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ φειδοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων σοι γενομένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμφερόντων οὐνεκα, ἕως ἔτι δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μὲν, ὅπερ ἀρκέσει, μόνον συνεπαμῦναι τοὺς φονέας τιμωρομένῳ, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἐν ἀμερίμῳ γεγόμενόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα τοὺς ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας.”

33. Τοσαῦτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εἰπόντας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ᾧδε ἡμείψατο. “ὅση μὲν εὐνοία καὶ σπουδὴ πρὸς Καίσαρα περιόντα ἐχρώμην, φιλοκινδυνότατος ἐκ πάντων ἔς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας γενόμενος, ἵστε σαφῶς, συστρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρατυχόντες· ὅση δ' αὖ κακείνος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμήσει χρώμενος διετέλει, οὐ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο καὶ μὲ Καίσαρι συνανελεῖν, ὥς ἐμοῦ περιόντος οὐ καθέξοντες ὧν ἐπενόουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ εὐνοία τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπεία τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ὥς μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὺς ὥσπερ ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἓνα ἀνελεῖν ὥς τύραννον. τίς ἂν οὖν πιστεύσειεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Our enemies are starting up afresh. They are forcibly seizing Syria and Macedonia and are raising money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement with the young Caesar. We naturally fear lest there be added to the war, which has not yet broken out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against us. We beseech you to consider these things for the sake of piety toward Caesar and care for us, who have never given you cause for complaint, for your own interest even more than ours; and, while you still may, to assist Octavian at any rate so far—for this will suffice—as to punish the murderers. Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and will provide security for us, who are now apprehensive both for ourselves and for you.”

33. To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: “What friendship and zeal I had for Caesar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favours he showed me, what honours he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Caesar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then,

CHAP.
V

Antony
replies
to them

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. V. ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι γεγεννη-
 μένου καὶ προτιμᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν
 φόνον ἐκόντα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιβούλοις,
 ὥς οἶεται Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος; πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς
 ἀμνηστία τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονίαι; ταῦτα γὰρ
 ἐπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς; ἐμοὶ βούλεται. μά-
 θετε, ὥς ἐγένετο.

34. “Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος
 ἄφνω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα
 πλείστον ἐμὲ φιλία τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ
 ἀγνοία τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· οὐ γάρ πω τὴν συνθήκην
 ἑώρων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὅσοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ
 οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομάχοις τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατα-
 λαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ἐκείνοις
 ἦν, ἥ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ φανερώτερον, γέρα τε τοῖς
 ἀνελούσιν ὥς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο. καὶ εἰ
 τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφαίνη, ἡμῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἀπο-
 λέσθαι πᾶσιν ὥς τυράννου φίλοις. ὧδε δὴ με
 ἔχοντα θορύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ
 ἦν γνώμης παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἀπορήσαι, σκοποῦντες
 εὐρήσετε, ἔνθα μὲν ἔδει τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἔνθα
 δὲ ὑποκρίσεως, εὐμήχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ
 πάντων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰ
 γέρα τὰ ψηφιζόμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ὅπερ, ἀντι-
 τάξας ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦ-
 σιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἔπραττον σὺν θράσει παραβόλῳ
 καὶ ἐπικινδύνῳ, τότε μόνον ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς
 Καίσαρος ἀσφαλῶς περιέσεσθαι, ὅταν μὴ Καῖσαρ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

will believe that I have no care for Caesar, who was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and that I willingly condone his murder at the hands of those who conspired against me also, as the young Caesar imagines? Whence came their amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes to charge these things upon me instead of the Senate. Learn from me how they came about.

34. "When Caesar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not yet the particulars of the conspiracy nor against how many it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with a body of gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Caesar had been declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it was not the time either for any rash move, or for any long hesitation,¹ you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done, because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unfailing courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Caesar's party could be safe only in case Caesar were not declared

¹ So Keil, approved by Viereck. Others couple γνώμης with ἀπορῆσαι, and Nauck transposes γνώμης. It would then mean "When I might well have been at a loss what to decide."

CAP. V. εἶναι δόξη τύραννος. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ δέει τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῆς ἐχομένων, ὅτε μὴ Καῖσαρ εἴη τύραννος, ἀνδροφονίας αὐτοὺς ἀλώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλονικούντων, εἷξα τῆς ἀμνηστίας διδομένης ἀντὶ τῶν γερῶν, ἵν' ὅσων ἔχρηζον ἀντιλάβοιμι. τὰ δὲ ἦν πόσα καὶ πηλικά; μήτε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπηλείφθαι τὴν ἐμοὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἡδίστην μήτε τὴν περιουσίαν δεδημεύσθαι μήτε τὴν θέσιν, ἐφ' ἣ νῦν οὗτος γαυριᾷ, διαλελύσθαι μήτε τὰς διαθήκας ἀκύρους γενέσθαι τό τε σῶμα τεθάφθαι βασιλικῶς καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ τὰς πάλαι δεδομένας ἀθανάτους διαμένειν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα κύρια εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθαι σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ βίῳ ἀντὶ ἐπονειδίστου.

35. “Ἄρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγα ἢ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας τὴν βουλὴν ἀνταιτῆσαι δοκῶ; ἢ δοῦναι ἂν αὐτὰ ἢ βουλὴ χωρὶς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ἦν μὲν δὴ καὶ καθαρῶς ἀντιδοῦναι τάδε τῶνδε ἄξιον καὶ φείσασθαι σὺν ἀληθείᾳ γνώμῃ φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἀθανάτου Καίσαρος δόξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς σωτηρίας· οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην. ἐπεὶ γέ τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἃ πρῶτα ἔχρηζον ἐκράτησα καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὥς ἐν ἀμερίμῳ μεθεῖντο, ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλκον, οὐ ψηφίσμασιν ἢ δόγμασιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' ἀσήμεν δημοκοπία, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ταφῆς ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and the Senate itself, plunged alike in fear (lest, if Caesar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves should be convicted of murder), and making their fight for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to gain what I wanted in exchange. What number of things did I want and how important were they? That Caesar's name, to me most dear, should not be blotted out, that his property should not be confiscated, that the adoption on which this young man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will should not be declared invalid, that his body should have a royal funeral, that the immortal honours previously decreed to him should be fulfilled, that all his acts should be confirmed, and that his son, and we his friends, both generals and soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy a life of honour instead of ignominy.

35. "Think you that I asked few or small things from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or that the Senate would have made these concessions without the amnesty? If this exchange had been made in all sincerity it would have been a fair bargain actually to spare the murderers for the sake of Caesar's immortal glory and our complete security, but in fact I did it not with that intention, but in order to postpone the retribution. Accordingly, as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from the Senate, and the murderers, freed from anxiety, were off their guard, I took fresh courage and undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by decrees (for that was impossible), but by working on the people imperceptibly. I brought Caesar's

CHAP.
V

CAP.
V. τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἀπογυμνῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐπιδεικνὺς ἤμαγμένην τε καὶ κατακεκομμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ φιλόδημον αὐτοῦ παλιλλογῶν, ἐκπαθῶς ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μὲν ὡς ἀνηρημένον, κατακαλῶν δ' ὡς θεόν. τάδε γάρ μου τὰ ἔργα καὶ ῥήματα ἠρέθισε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἤψε μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ὅπως ἀντιπραττούσης καὶ λυπουμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἔδειξαν, ἐμὲ μὲν αἰτιώμενοι τῆς δημοκοπίας, τοὺς δὲ φονέας ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, αἱ μεστὰὶ μεγάλων στρατῶν ἦσαν, ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δεδομένου χρόνου διδάξαντες ἐπὶ προφάσει φροντίδος σίτου. ἕτερον δὲ με δέος ἔτι μείζον ἐπελάμβανεν, οὐκ ἔχοντά πω στρατὸν ἴδιον οὐδένα, μὴ πρὸς ἐνόπλους τοσοῦσδε ἄνοπλοι καθιστώμεθα. καὶ ὁ σύναρχος ὑποπτος ἦν, ἐμοί τε διάφορος ὢν αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπιβουλευσαὶ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου γενέθλιον τῇ πόλει τιθέμενος.

36. “Ὡς δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἐπειγόμενος ἐξοπλίσαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων τὰ ὅπλα μετειγκεῖν, Ἀμάτιον ἔκτεινα καὶ κατεκάλεσα Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοῖσδε αὐθις ἀλούσα ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς με μεταθοῖτο. καὶ οὐδ' ὥς αὐτῇ πιστεύων ἔπεισα Συρίαν αἰτεῖν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνέπραξα αἰτοῦντι, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεῦσι Δολοβέλλας ἐχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

body into the forum under pretence of burial, I ^{CHAP.} laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them ^V and his clothing all bloody and slashed. In public speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for him as slain but invoking him as god. These acts and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled a fire after the amnesty, sent them against the houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city. How all this was done in the teeth of and to the chagrin of the Senate was presently shown, when they blamed me for exciting the people and sent the murderers away to take command of provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia, which were provided with great armies, telling them to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence of looking after the corn supply. And now another and still greater fear took possession of me (since I had no military force of my own as yet), lest we should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so many armed men. I suspected my colleague also because he was always at variance with me, and while pretending to be in the conspiracy against Caesar had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the republic.

36. "While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it over to my side. But as even then I had no confidence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the people by a law, and I favoured his petition so that he should become an enemy instead of a friend of

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
V. αἰσχροὺν ἢ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντειπεῖν ἐμοὶ περὶ Μακεδονίας. οὐ μὲντ' ἂν οὐδ' ὥς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλα, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιὰν προμεθῆκα τῷ Δολοβέλλα ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι. τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφείλοντο ἂν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαβόντες ἔθνη. δεῆσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, οἷα ἀνθ' οἷων καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἐδόθη, Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφίσιν ὄντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀφηρημένα βιάζονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήνεκτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τέχναις καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ ἀντιδόσεσιν ἐτέρων· οὐ γάρ πω τῶν ὅπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

37. “Γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἠπόρου. φήμη δὲ κατέσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν. ἀπιστουμένης δὲ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεψομένων ἀπεσταλμένων, εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην· ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσαν μοι τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην ἰσόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐ τοῖσδε τοῖς φανεροῖς, ὡς οἶεται Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλέοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

the murderers, and so that the senators should be CHAP.
ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still, ^V
the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to
me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by
reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not
previously transferred the army to Dolabella, on
the ground that Syria and the Parthian war had
fallen to his lot. And again they would not have taken
Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius
unless other provinces had been obtained for them
to ensure their safety. When it became necessary
to make them a recompense, look at the compensation
that was given to them—Cyrene and Crete, devoid of
troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as
not sufficient for their safety; and they are now
trying to seize by force those that were taken from
them. Thus in fact was the army transferred from
our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem,
by exchange; for when there was no way to gain
our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have
recourse to the laws.

37. "After these events our enemies had raised
another army and it became needful for me to have
the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pre-
text. A rumour gained currency that the Getae
were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved,
and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I
brought forward the decree about the dictatorship,
providing that it should not be lawful to speak of
it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The
senators were particularly taken with this proposal
and they gave me the army. Then for the first time
I considered myself on an equality with my enemies,
not merely with the open ones, as Octavian thinks,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
V. καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δ' ἐργασαμένῳ μοι ἕτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλειπεν ἐν πλευραῖς, Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἡγούμενος καὶ ὁδε χώρας ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ· ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ θρασύτερον εἰδὼς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφηρούμην, ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνόμενος ἀντιδώσειν, γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην. ἀγανακτοῦσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἤδη καθορώσης καὶ ἴστε οἶα καὶ ὅσα Δέκμῳ πολλῶν γραφόντων καὶ ἐπαλειφόντων ἤδη τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ ὑπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρων ὡς χρησόμενος δὴ ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοῖς εἰπεῖν, χρησόμεθα, ὡς ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

38. “Οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέους τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπισχόντος μετεβάλομεν ἐς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῇ καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ὧν ἐκφανέντων ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἡ τῶν πλεόνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδή. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅση μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μεταμέλεια τῶν ἐψηφισμένων, ὅσος δὲ ἀγὼν ἀφελέσθαι με τὴν Κελτικὴν ἤδη δεδομένην. ἴστε, ἃ γράφουσι Δέκμῳ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ πείθουσι περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς μεταψηφίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε πατρώοις καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεῖ γνώμῃ καὶ σὺν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀνδραγαθίαις, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκράτει, ἀμννοῦμεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βοηθοῦντες.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

but with the more numerous and powerful ones CHAP.
V
who still choose to remain secret. When I had accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, governing a conveniently placed province with a large army; whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, tried to deprive of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia, without an army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided, therefore, to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundisium so that I might use it in emergencies. And with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful.

38. "Thus have we changed from the great fear that formerly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where we can boldly face our foes. When this change became known the multitude also let their zeal against our enemies be known. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed, and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they write to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country's gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valour, with which Caesar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers both of body and of mind.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
V Ταῦτά μοι γιγνόμενα μέν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἔτι ἔχρηζον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἐξενήνεκται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὓς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς ἐς ἅπαντα τίθεμαι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴ τινες αὐτὰ οὐ συνορῶσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνου Καίσαρος ἀχαρίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντος.”

VI

CAP.
VI 39. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διεξιόντος, παρέστη τοῖς ταξιάρχαις αὐτὸν ἅπαντα μετ’ ἔχθρας ἀκριβοῦς ἐς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ βουλῇ, πεποιηκέναι. ἤξιουν δὲ καὶ ὡς τῷ Καίσαρι συναλλαγῇναι καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς συνήλλασσαν αὐθις ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰς ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρήγαγεν ὡς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε συκοφαντῶν εἴτε τῷ ὄντι νομίσας εἴτε περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλὴν μεταφέρῃ ἐς τὸ σῶμα. ὃ τε λόγος ἐκδραμῶν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἤγειρε πάνδημον, καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γάρ, οἷς τι λογισμοῦ βαθέος ἦν, ἤδεσαν Καίσαρι συμφέρειν Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλάπτοντα ὅμως περιεῖναι, ἐπίφοβον ὄντα τοῖς φονεῦσιν· ἀποθανόντος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

“While these events were in progress, fellow-^{CHAP.}
soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked ^V
of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them
before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my
deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter.
Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not
see them in the same light—excepting only Octavian,
who behaves ungratefully towards us.”¹

VI

39. THESE words of Antony convinced the tribunes ^{CHAP.}
that in all he had done he had been moved by ^{VI}
bitter animosity towards the murderers and that he
had been scheming against the Senate. Neverthe-
less they urged him to come to an agreement with
Octavian; and, proving successful, brought about a
reconciliation between them in the Capitol. But ^{Octavian}
not long afterward Antony announced to his friends ^{accused of}
that some of his bodyguard had been tampered ^{attempting}
with by Octavian, who had formed a plot against ^{to assassinate}
him. This he said either as a slander, or because ^{Antony}
he believed it to be true, or because he had
heard of the emissaries of Octavian in his camp,
and turned the plot to checkmate his actions into
a plot against his life. When this story was noised
about there was a general tumult forthwith and
great indignation, for there were few who had
sufficient penetration to see that it was for the
interest of Octavian that Antony, even though he
was unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony)

¹ Clearly this speech was composed by Appian and put in the mouth of Antony. It contains errors as to dates and as to the order of events which Antony could not have made.

CAP. VI γὰρ ἀδεέστερον ἐκείνους ἅπασιν ἐπιτολήσειν, βοηθουμένους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὧδε μὲν εἵκαζον οἱ συνετώτεροι· τὸ δὲ πλεόν, ὀρώντες, οἶα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Καίσαρ ὑβριζόμενός τε καὶ ζημιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ ἄπιστον ἐτίθεντο τὴν διαβολὴν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν ἐνόμιζον Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβου-
λεῦσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἐξέτρεχε σὺν ὀργῇ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβόα αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ φιλίαν ἔτι οἱ μόνην οὔσαν· ἐπὶ τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δραμὼν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβόα καὶ θεοὺς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ ἄρας ἡρᾶτο πάσας καὶ ἐς δίκην ἐλθεῖν προ-
καλεῖτο. οὐδενὸς δὲ προϊόντος, “ἐν τοῖς φίλοις,” ἔφη, “δέχομαι τοῖς σοῖς κριθῆναι,” καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπέτρεχεν ἔσω. κωλυθεὶς δὲ αὐθις ὥμωζε καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θύρας ἡγανάκει κωλύουσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλεγχθῆναι. ἀπιὼν τε τὸν δῆμον ἐμαρτύρετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, πρὸς Ἀντωνίου δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε σὺν πάθει πολλῷ μετέπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τις αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγίγνετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὥκνουν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ πιστὸν νέμειν, καὶ τινες ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφοῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἄρτι ἐν ἱερῷ, μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπινοεῖν εἰς ἀφορμὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead CHAP. VI they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavian suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul.

Octavian ran with mad fury even to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony who was conspiring against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the door-keepers who prevented Antony being brought to book. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of Antony to

He denies
the accu-
sation

CAP. VI. φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἢ ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρου-
χιῶν Καίσαρι.

40. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπε-
σταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ στρατὸν
καὶ τοὺς ἀπωκισμένους ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον
ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφᾶς
ἐπικουρήσειν, ἃν δύνωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ
Βρεντέσιον ἐξήει διὰ τάδε. δείσας δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ,
μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφφούρητον
αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν ἦει,
πέισων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύεσθαι, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ
πατρὸς ὤκισμένας. καὶ ἔπεισε Καλατίαν πρῶτην,
ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῃ Κασιλῖνον, δύο τάσδε Καπῶν
ἐκατέρωθεν· ἐπιδούς δ' ἐκάστῳ δραχμὰς πεντα-
κοσίας ἤγεν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, οὔτε ὀπλισμένους
ἐντελῶς οὔτε συντεταγμένους πω κατὰ ἴλας, ἀλλ'
ὥς ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν, ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ.
οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ
στρατιᾶς ἐπανιόντα, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ τὸν Καί-
σαρα μεθ' ἐτέρας προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως
ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὥς χρησόμενοι κατ' Ἀντωνίου
Καίσαρι ἡσμένιζον· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ διαλλαγὰς ἑωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνό-
μιζον εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντωνίῳ
μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονέων.

41. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῶν θορυβουμένων, Καννούτιος
ὁ δήμαρχος, ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ
Καίσαρι φίλος, ὑπήντα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν
γνώμην ἐκμαθὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἐχθρας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

increase his body-guard or to alienate the colonies of veterans from Octavian.

CHAP.
VI

40. Presently news was brought to Octavian by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundisium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Caesar, and that they would assist him (Octavian) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundisium. As Octavian feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected, he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been settled in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner. The citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavian was advancing with another some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavian against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavian in return was to wreak vengeance on the murderers.

Octavian
obtains
soldiers in
Galatia and
Casilinum

41. In this time of consternation Cannutius, the tribune, an enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavian, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Cannutius addressed the people, saying that Octavian was advancing with real hostility to

The
tribune
Cannutius
sides with
Octavian
against
Antony

CAP. VI. Ἀντωνίου σαφοῦς ἐπιέναι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδιότας Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι, στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐσῆγε τὸν Καίσαρα, αὐλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερῷ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεὼν τῶν Διοσκούρων παρήλθε, καὶ τὸν νεὼν περιέστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιεζωσμένοι, Καννούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦς ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ ὦν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάθοι, δι' ἃ καὶ τόνδε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἶη συνειλεγμένους· ἔφη τε ἐς πάντα τῆς πατρίδος ὑπηρέτης καὶ κατήκοος ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ νῦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἕτοιμος.

42. Ὡς δ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύσαντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀφίχθαι ἢ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν φονέων ἄμυναν, ἤχθοντο τῇ κατ' Ἀντωνίου προαγορεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφῶν γεγονότος καὶ ὄντος ὑπάτου· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ἤτουν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὡς ὀπλιούμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ὅπλων ἀνέξεσθαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὦν προσεδόκησε μετενεχθεῖς, ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ περιέσεσθαι, συνεχώρει ταῖς προφάσεσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ ἀπλῶς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα. πάντας δ', ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθηδόνα, ἐπήγει τῆς συνόδου καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ἑτέραις δωρεαῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavian as they had no other army at present. After speaking thus he brought in Octavian, who was encamped before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Cannutius addressed the people first, speaking against Antony. Afterwards Octavian also reminded them of his father and of what he had himself suffered at the hands of Antony, on account of which he had enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He declared himself the obedient servant of his country in all things, and said that he was ready to confront Antony in the present emergency.

CHAP.
VI

Octavian
declares his
readiness
to confront
Antony

42. After he had thus spoken and dismissed the assembly, the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavian or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others hinted at the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavian was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all the assembled multitude, gave them fresh presents, and said that he would reward

Caesar's
veterans
refuse to
fight
against
Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VI. καὶ δαψιλέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις. χιλίους μὲν δὴ μόνους ἢ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμεῖναι (διαφέρονται γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ). οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἐξήεσαν, ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἃ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν τε εἰλήφεσαν καὶ ὧν ἤλπιζον ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἷόν τε ὄχλος ἀνώματος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὠπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανήεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τήν τε Ῥάβενναν καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα περιήει, στρατεύων ἐτέρους ἐφ' ἐτέροις· καὶ πάντα ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἔπεμπεν.

VII

CAP. VII. 43. Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφῖκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκ πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα· ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέμπεμπον ὡς περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενον πρώτου. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς χαλεπτόμενος τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχευ, ἀλλ' ὠνείδιζεν ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθυαίων ὑπὸ οὗ μετενεχθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιαύτῃ χάριτος· ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μεираκίου προπετοῦς, ὧδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν εἰς διαφθορὰν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

them still more generously, for he made use of them CHAP. VI for emergencies rather as the friends of his father than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words, he influenced 1000 only from 10,000 to remain with him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the number. The rest then took their departure, but presently they remembered the toils of agriculture and the gains of military service, the words of Octavian, his compliance with their wishes, and the favours they had received and hoped still to receive from him. And so, as a fickle multitude would, they repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavian had already proceeded with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the neighbouring parts, continually enlisting new forces and sending them all to Arretium.

VII

43. IN the meantime four of the five Macedonian CHAP. VII legions had joined Antony at Brundisium. They blamed him because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Caesar. They conducted him Mutiny among Antony's troops without applause to the platform, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that they had expressed no thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called Octavian) who had been sent among them to stir up discord. Those men he would find out himself, he

CAP. VII. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρήσειν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐψηφισμένην οἱ χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικήν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκάστω δοθήσεσθαι δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐγέλασαν τῆς σμικρολογίας καὶ χαλεπήναντος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθορύβουν καὶ διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ ἐξανέστη τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν· “μαθήσεσθε ἄρχεσθαι.” αἰτήσας δὲ παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων τοὺς στασιώδεις (ἀνάγραφτος γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατοῖς αἰεὶ καθ’ ἓνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος) διεκλήρωσε τῷ στρατιωτικῷ νόμῳ καὶ οὐ τὸ δέκατον ἅπαν, ἀλλὰ μέρος ἕκτεινε τοῦ δεκάτου, νομίζων σφᾶς ὧδε καταπλήξειν δι’ ὀλίγου. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐς φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὀργὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ μῖσος ἐτρέποντο.

44. Ταῦτα δ’ ὁρῶντες οὖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶνδε προπετόμφει, βιβλία πολλὰ τότε μάλιστα διερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίου μικρολογίας τε καὶ ὠμότητος ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος μνήμην τοῦ προτέρου καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ νῦν καὶ χορηγίας δαψιλεῖς μετατίθεσθαι. οὖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος μηνύμασι τε μεγάλοις ἐξήτει, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς, εἴ τις ἐπικρύπτοι. οὐδένα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἐχαλέπηεν ὥς τοῦ στρατοῦ σφᾶς ἐπικρύπτοντος. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένων ἐθορυβεῖτο. καὶ ἐπελθὼν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη χαλεπῆναι μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης στρατιωτικῆς ὀλίγοις ἀντὶ πλεόνων ὧν ἐκόλαζεν ὁ νόμος, αὐτοὺς δὲ εἰδέναι σαφῶς οὔτε ὠμὸν οὔτε μικρολόγον Ἀντώνιον. “ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν φθόνος οἰχέσθω,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

said; but the army he would lead to the province CHAP. VII
voted to him, the prosperous Gallic country, and
would give 100 drachmas to each man present.
They laughed at his parsimony, and when he
became angry they broke out in tumult and went
away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You
shall learn to obey orders." Then he required He punishes them
the military tribunes to bring before him the
seditious characters (for it is customary in Roman
armies to keep at all times a record of the character
of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain
number according to military law, and he put to
death not every tenth man, but a smaller number,
thinking that he would thus quickly strike terror
into them. But the others were turned to rage and
hatred instead of fear by this act.

44. In view of these facts the men whom Octavian Octavian excites dissension in Antony's army
had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the
greatest possible number of handbills throughout the
camp, reflecting on Antony's stinginess and cruelty,
recalling the memory of the elder Caesar and urging
them to share the service of the younger and his
liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries
by means of rewards to informers and threats against
those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he
became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed
them. When the news came of what Octavian was
doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he
became alarmed, and going before the army again he
said that he was sorry for what he had been com-
pelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of
the much larger number who were punishable by
law, and that they must know very well that Antony
was neither cruel nor stingy. "Let us lay aside

CAP.
VII κεκορεσμένος,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι· τὰς δὲ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ δωρεάν (οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης), ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευτικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ δωρεὰν ἐκέλευσα δοθῆναι, καὶ χρὴ νόμῳ πατρίῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτικῷ καὶ ἐς τὰδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὐπειθεῖς ὑπάρχειν.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οὐδέν τι ἔτι προσθεὶς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡσσήσθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐλάμβανον, εἴτε μεταγνόντες εἴτε καὶ δεδιότες. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους, εἴτε μνηίων ἔτι τῆς στάσεως εἴθ’ ἐτέρως ὑπονοῶν, ἐνήλλασσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ τᾶλλα ἐν ταῖς χρεαίαις ἐδεξιούτο καὶ προύπεμπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τὴν παραθαλάσσιον ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ Ἀριμίνον.

45. Αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὥδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ὁρμήσων. ἐσῆει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν ἴλην πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ’ ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακούντας ἐνόπλους· συνθήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο, καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς μεμψόμενος Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐσιὼν ἤδη μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἀρειον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τέταρτον ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which I have ordered to be given you is not my donative, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but a small dole to mark our first meeting rather than a full reward; but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this affair as in all others." When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the donative, that it might not seem that as general he had yielded anything to the army; but they, whether moved by penitence or by fear, took what was given them. Antony, however, being still angry at the outbreak, or from some other suspicion, changed their tribunes, but the rest of the army he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them forward by detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum.

45. Antony chose from the whole number a praetorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner, leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms, and he gave them a countersign and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavian, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavian. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian

CHAP.
VII

Two of
Antony's
legions
desert to
Octavian

CAP. VII. Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. διαταραχθεῖς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὥς δ' ἐφ' ἑτερα αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλβην πόλιν ὥς μεταπείσων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέλεσι προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐκάστω, καὶ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐς Τίβυρον ἐξήει, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐξιοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη σαφὴς ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.

46. Δεῦρο δὲ ὄντι ἥ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἅπασα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον· οἱ καὶ καταλαμβάντες αὐτὸν ὀρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συνδραμόντας (πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν) συνώμνουν ἐκόντες οὐκ ἐκλείψειν τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πίστιν, ὥς ἀπορῆσαι, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχή. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρὶς γε τῶν νεολέκτων, τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετάπεμπτα (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίκετο), ἐξεστρατευμένων δὲ ἓν, οἱ καὶ γηρῶντες ὅμως ἐδόκουν νεοσυλλόγων ἀμείνους ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγίγνετο τέλη γεγυμνασμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and espoused the side of Octavian. Disconcerted as he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur, taking the equipment customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul. CHAP.
VII

46. While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honour. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavian's public meeting.

With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There was also one of discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually

Antony
departs to
Cisalpine
Gaul

CAP. VII ἄλλο ἔπεται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰ καὶ τὰ νεόλεκτα. Λέπιδός τε ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρία τέσσαρα τέλη καὶ Ἀσίγιος Πολλίων δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἐδόκουν αἰρήσεσθαι τὰ Ἀντωνίου.

47. Καίσαρι δὲ ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα, τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἐν δὲ νεοσυλλόγων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευμένων, οὐκ ἐντελῇ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ὀπλίσεσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυλλόγων καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπληρούμενα. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας ἐς Ἀλβην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἐφίδετο μὲν αὐθις Καίσαρι, ὡς ἀπορεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες ἦσαν, οἱ προύπεμπον Ἀντώνιον· ἤχθοντο δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπαινέσαντες δ' ὅμως αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἰνέαι ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ σαφές, ὅτι χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου· στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πω ἔχοντες ἴδιον οὐδὲ καταλέξαι χωρὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς πάντα ἀνετίθεντο.

48. Τῷ Καίσαρι δ' ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεάς τε καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες, ἠξίου ἐαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφῆναι, πολέμου τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἄρχουσι ταχθέντων. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπῆναι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony.

CHAP.
VII

47. Octavian had two legions equally efficient, those which had deserted from Antony to him, also one legion of new levies, and two of veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but these also filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavian nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.¹

Octavian -
offers his
services to
the Senate:
they are
accepted

48. The soldiers of Octavian furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of proprætor, carrying on war and acting as their leader, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honour, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they

¹ The new consuls were Hirtius and Pansa. They had been designated in advance by Caesar and succeeded to the office by virtue of the decree of the Senate confirming all Caesar's acts.

CAP. VII. ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀνετίθετο· καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρεῖν ἀθρόους ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐπέιχεν, ὥς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιομένης ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτήν, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἣν αἰσθονται τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἑμὸν ὄκνον.

Διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐς ὑπεροψίαν αὐτὸν αἰτιωμένων, ἐξελογεῖτο αὐτοῖς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εὐνοία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορία, “μέχρι καθέλωμεν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντες δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν· ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὲ πρότεροι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ὥς προλαβοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὕβριν ἢ βίαν, αἰδεσθεῖσι δ' ἴσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτοὶ δέει, μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν λάβοιμι.” τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἐθεᾶτο γυμνάσια τῶν δύο τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, διαστάντων τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ δρώντων ἀφειδῶς ἔργα πολέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνον θάνατον. ἡσθεῖς οὖν τῇ θεᾷ καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπιβαίνων ἄσμενος, ἐτέρας αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐπεδίδου καί, εἴ τις πολέμου χρεία γένοιτο, νικήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακισχιλίας. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλείᾳ δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

wanted to go before the Senate *en masse* he prevented them and would not even allow them to send messengers, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; "and all the more," he said, "if they know of your zeal and my hesitation."

CHAP.
VII

They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; "and that will be the case," he continued, "until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you." After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavian was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavian bind these mercenaries to himself.

Military
manœuvres
of
Octavian's
legions

VIII

CAP.
VIII

49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κελτικῇ τὸν Δέκμον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετιέναι, πειθόμενόν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ φειδόμενον ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὸν δῆμον εἴκειν οἱ πρέπον ἢ διὰ τὴν βουλήν Ἀντωνίῳ μᾶλλον. Ἀντωνίου δ' αὐτῷ προθεσμίαν ὀρίζοντος, μεθ' ἣν ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσεται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὀρίζειν ἑαυτῷ, μὴ θᾶσσον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιος. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐμαρῶς ἀν' αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι ὄντος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔκρινε προελθεῖν. αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δείσας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ οὐδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τινα αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάσσεται γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλούσης αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ ἀναξεύξας ἐχώρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπιόντα πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα, τὰς τε πύλας ἀπέκλειε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μουτιναίων ἐς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποζύγιά τε ὅσα ἦν κατέθυε καὶ ἐταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος ἢ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπέμενε. στρατιὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε πλῆθος καὶ ὀπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὧν ἐν μὲν ἦν ἀρτιστρατεύτων ἀνδρῶν ἔτι ἀπείρων, δύο δέ, αἱ καὶ πρότερον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀργῇ τὴν Μουτίνην ἀπετάφρενέ τε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

VIII

49. SUCH was the course of events in Italy. In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own safety. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest Antony should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing that he for his part should now be unable to enter any of them, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, admitted by all as they thought he was departing, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina.¹ Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, and drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina.

CHAP.
VIII

Antony
orders
D. Brutus
to with-
draw from
Cisalpine
Gaul

Decimus
retires to
Mutina and
Antony
besieges
him there

¹ The modern Modena.

CAP.
VIII

50. Καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον νομηνίαν ὑπατοὶ γενόμενοι Ἰρτιὸς τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθύς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ συνήγον ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος φίλοι πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἤξιουν ἤδη ψηφίσασθαι, τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον ὅπλοις καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκας αὐτῷ δεδομένον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαγαγόντα· ἐπελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα προαίρεσιν, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει φανερώς δορυφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶνδε λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἄκραν ὅπλοις καὶ συνθήμασι κεχρημένου καὶ τᾶλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχήν. Δεύκιος δὲ Πείσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανής, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσωνι δι' αὐτὸν ἢ δι' Ἀντώνιον ἢ κατ' οἰκίαν γνώμην προσετίθεντο, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν ἤξιουν, ὥς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου καταδικάζειν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ χθὲς ὑπάτου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὗ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτὸς εἶπε πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἀγχώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα περιῆλθον, ἅμα δ' ἔφ' περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελέγοντο· ἔνθα τῶν Κικερωνείων ἐπιβαρύντων ἐψήφιστο ἂν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμιος, εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλουιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

50. Decimus, then, was besieged : but at Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been performed and in the very temple. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of his seeking the supreme power as Caesar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with arms and countersigns, and had borne himself more haughtily in other respects than was befitting a yearly magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interest in his absence, a man among the most illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to have a trial, that it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom Cicero himself as well as the rest had so often lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session till night. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day ;

CHAP.
VIII
B.C. 43

Cicero urges
that Antony
be declared
a public
enemy

The tribune
Salvius
interposes
in favour
of Antony

CAP. VIII. ἐκέλευσεν ἀναθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁ κωλύων αἰὲν δυνατώτερος.

51. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μάλα φορτικῶς ὠνείδιζόν τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκδραμόντες ἠρέθιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐξέτρεχεν, ἕως ἢ βουλὴ κατέσχε δείσασα, μὴ μεταπίσειε τὸν δῆμον ἐς μνήμην ἀγαγὼν Ἀντωνίου. οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ δίκης οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ δεδῶκει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὠργίζοντο πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἀνακινήσαντι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐς αὐτὸν προκατεχρῶντο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἡρεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμως προκαθελεῖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. τοιαῦδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ γνώμη τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχεν ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευεν, ἐψηφίσαντο ὅμως Δέκμον τε ἐπαινέσαι οὐκ ἐκστάντα Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἰρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσῃ Καίσαρα συστρατηγεῖν οὗ νῦν ἔχει στρατοῦ, ἐπίχρυσόν τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετιέναι τοῦ νόμου θᾶσσον ἔτεσι δέκα, ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσιν, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὡς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for among the magistrates the one who has the veto always prevails. CHAP.
VIII

51. The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults on Salvius for this, and hastening out tried to excite the people against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should cause the people to change by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously called in the help of Octavian against him. Although Octavian knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavian to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he promised to give them if they should be victorious.

After passing these decrees they adjourned, that

CAP. VII. τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔργῳ διὰ τῶνδε εἰδέναι πολέμιον
ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν
οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντεροῦντα· Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ
ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἔτι μεираκίον οἷ τε ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι
καὶ φίλοι δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν
οἰκίας διέθεον ἱκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ
βουλευτήριον ἰόντας ἠνώχλουν, ῥιπτούμενοί τε
πρὸ ποδῶν σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς καὶ μελαίνῃ
στολῇ παρὰ θύραις ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς
φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον
αἰφνιδίου γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δείσας δ' ὁ
Κικέρων ἐβουληγόρησεν ὧδε.

52. “ Ἄ μὲν ἔδει γνῶναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἐχθρὸς
ἔγνωμεν· οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμῶμεν,
τούτοις ἐψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον. Σάλουιον δὲ
τὸν μόνον ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ἢ πάντων εἶναι χρή
συνετώτερον ἢ φιλίᾳ τάδε πράσσειν ἢ τῶν ἐνεστώ-
των ἀμαθία. ὢν τὸ μὲν αἰσχιστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ
δόξομεν ἀσυνετώτεροι πάντες ἐνὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ
αὐτῷ Σαλούιῳ, εἰ φιλίαν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμῶν·
ἀμαθῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πισ-
τεύειν ὑπάτοις ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ
δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
βουλευταῖς, οἳ τοσοῖδε τὴν ἀξιώσιν τε καὶ τὸν
ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διὰ τε ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ὑπὲρ
τὸν Σάλουιον, καταγινώκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι
δ' ἐν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαις αἰεὶ τὸ πλεον
δικαιότερον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρήξει τὰς αἰτίας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Antony might in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and beseeching them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the senate-house, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as follows :—

CHAP.
VIII

52. "What decision ought to be reached concerning Antony we determined yesterday. When we bestowed honours on his enemies we thereby voted him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the proceedings, must either have been wiser than all the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with the present circumstances he ought to repose confidence in the consuls, rather than himself, in the praetors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so much his superiors in age and experience, who condemn Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons

Cicero's
speech

CAP. VIIΙ μαθεῖν, λελέξεται διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐν ἀναμνήσει, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν.

“Τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καῖσαρος ἀποθανόντος ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀντώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ὥρμησε χωρὶς ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Θράκας λαβὼν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἐκάτερα τούτων αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ ἐνέδρα καὶ οὐ λαβὼν ἔπραξε δι’ ἑαυτοῦ. σπεῖραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ βασιλικὴν συνέταξεν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερώς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἐδορυφόρουν τε καὶ ἐνυκτοφυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι. ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα, συντομώτερον ἐφιέμενος ὧν ἐπενόει Καῖσαρ. Καῖσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ φθάσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὡς εὐκαιρον ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὀρμητήριον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκείθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐδυνάστευσεν ἡμῶν.

53. “Τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταπλησσόμενος, ἵνα πρὸς μὴθὲν αὐτῷ παρανομοῦντι κατοκνῇ, διεκλήρωσεν ἐς θάνατον, οὐ στασιάζαντας ἢ φυλακὴν ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ’ ὧν μόνων ὁ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ὠμὴν ὥρισε τιμωρίαν, καὶ ὅμως αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης. ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἢ γέλωτος ἦγεν ἐς θάνατον τοὺς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον οὐ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνηθέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς εὖ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for our action I will briefly recount the principal ones by way of reminder. CHAP.
VIII

“At Caesar’s death Antony possessed himself of our money. Having been invested with the government of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having received an army to operate against the Thracians he brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of these powers he asked from us for his own secret motives, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundisium he organized a royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-at-arms his private guards and night-watchmen, serving under a countersign. The whole remainder of the army he led from Brundisium to the city, aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that Caesar contemplated. Being anticipated by the younger Caesar and his army he became alarmed and turned his course to the Gallic province as a convenient point of attack on us, because Caesar had used it as his base when he made himself our master.

53. “In order to intimidate the soldiers to do every unlawful act he should order, he decimated them although they had not revolted and had not abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of war, for which offences alone military law allows such cruel punishment, which only a few generals have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance, in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity. These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a laugh; a death, moreover, of men not regularly condemned but merely chosen by lot. For this reason those who could do so revolted from him, and

CAP.
VIII

πράξασι δωρεὰς χθὲς ἐψηφίσασθε· οἱ δὲ οὐ
 δυνηθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ
 χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολι-
 ορκοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμέτερον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμέτε-
 ρον, ᾧ γράφετε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ,
 Ἀντώνιος δ' ἐξιέναι κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς
 Ἀντώνιον ψηφίζομεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ἢ Ἀντώνιος
 ἡμᾶς ἤδη πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι
 ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἄρα Δέκμου πεσόντος ἢ τε χώρα
 τοσῆδε οὔσα καὶ ὁμορος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ
 Δέκμου στρατὸς ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας
 Ἀντωνίῳ προσγένηται. τότε γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, ὁ δήμαρχος ψηφιεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν
 ἡμῶν γένηται δυνατώτερός."

54. Ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος οἱ φίλοι
 θορυβοῦντες ἀπαύστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέ-
 τρεπον, μέχρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἢ τε
 ἄλλη βουλὴ κατ' αἰδῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡσύχασε καὶ
 οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἠνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων·
 "ὁ μὲν νόμος, ᾧ βουλὴ, δικαιοῖ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον
 αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαί τε τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπο-
 λογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι· καὶ τὸν
 δεινότατον εἰπεῖν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα προκαλοῦ-
 μαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁκνεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου
 κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματά τινα εἶπεν ὡς
 μέγιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὄντα, παρ-
 ἦλθον ἐγὼ δείξων αὐτὰ ψευδῇ βραχυτάταις ἀπο-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. CHAP. VIII
Those who could not desert joined him in wrongdoing under the influence of fear, marched against our province as enemies, and besieged our army and our general, to whom you send letters directing him to hold the province, while Antony now orders him to evacuate it. Are we voting Antony an enemy, or is he already making war against us? And these things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this great province on our border, together with the army of Decimus, is added to the resources with which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that the tribune will vote Antony an enemy only as soon as he becomes our master.”¹

54. While Cicero was yet speaking his friends broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a long time nobody could be heard on the other side, until finally Piso came forward, when the senators, out of respect for him, became silent and even the Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said: “Our law, Senators, requires that the accused shall himself hear the charge preferred against him and shall be judged after he has made his own defence; and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest orator. Since, however, he hesitates to accuse Antony when present, but brings against him in his absence certain charges which he considers of the greatest gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are

Piso
defends
Antony

¹ The fifth Philippic of Cicero was delivered in the Senate on the first day of January, 43, and the sixth to a popular assembly on the fourth day of the same month. They bear only slight resemblance to this speech.

CAP. VII. κρισεσι. τὰ χρήματά φησιν Ἀντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος τελευτὴν σφετερίσασθαι, τοῦ μὲν νόμου τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ ὠρισμένη δίκη ζημιούντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρα κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τότε κατηγορήσαντος, ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε καὶ κενὰ καταλέλοιπε τὰ ταμιεῖα, Ἀντωνίου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ζητεῖν αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων καὶ γέρας τοῖς μηνύουσι δεκάτην ὑπεσχημένων, ἣν διπλασιάσομεν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τις Ἀντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

55. “Καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων· τὴν δὲ Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφισάμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς Ἀντωνίῳ, ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δῆμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρωνος, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ἕτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάλαι. μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ παραχωροῦντι πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀντὶ Θρακῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. ἀλλὰ Κικέρων Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον, ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὅπλα, Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολέμιον, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αἰτιᾶται· οὐς ἔδει μεταπεῖθιν, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ὃ τι ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ εὖ βουλευομένων ἐστὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Caesar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Caesar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud.

55. "So much for the charge in reference to money. We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, but the people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously been given to Caesar. It was a part of this law that, when Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is entrenching himself against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting on the side of the law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them. He ought not to entrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to entrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good

CHAP.
VIII

CAP.
VIII

διαστασιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐν καιροῖς μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνους οὐδὲ ἀμνημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν, τὸ κρίνειν τὰ φίλια καὶ πολέμια. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι νόμων ὁ δῆμος αὐτοκράτωρ εἰρήνης πέρι καὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὦν μηδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιστήσειε μηδὲ ἐπιμηνίσειεν ἡμῖν, προστάτου λαβόμενος.

56. “Ἄλλ’ ἐκτεινέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὦν καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ’ ὑμῶν κεχειροτονημένος. καὶ οὐδεὶς πω τῶνδε λόγον ὑπέσχευ αὐτοκράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι· οὐδ’ ἔστιν ἀπειθείας τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι’ ἣν καὶ νικῶντές τινες ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐθύνε τοὺς ἀνελόντας. οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενῆς οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φόνου κατηγορῶν πολέμιον κοινὸν ἀντὶ τῶν ὠρισμένων ἐπιτιμίων τοῖς φονεῦσι τίθεται. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅπως τε ἄτακτον ἦν καὶ ὅπως κατεφρόνει, δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ μεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε Ἀντωνίῳ στρατεύειν, αὐτομολήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικούς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων ὅμως ἐπήνεσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρὸς ἐμισθοδότησε· καὶ μὴ ποτε ὑμᾶς λυπήσειε τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἢ ἔχθρα· κατηγορεῖ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, αἰὲ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατεύματα θεραπειόντων, οὐ κολαζόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ὤκνησεν οὐδε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

counsellors to be at variance with the people, especially in times of danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged to the people. According to the ancient laws the people are the sole arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they may not be reminded of this, and consequently be angry with us when they have found a leader.

56. "But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever yet rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers. The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony's army was—legions which you have voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavian. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not

CHAP.
VIII

CAP. VIII. τὴν ἄλλην Ἀντωνίου μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε πύθωμαι καθ' ἕκαστον ᾧδε.

57. “Τίνα ἔκτεινεν ὡς τύραννος ἄκριτον ὁ νῦν κινδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δ' ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως; τίνα δὲ ὑμῖν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ' ἓνα μὲν τοιόσδε ἦν, ἐπεβούλευε δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ; πότε, ὦ Κικέρων; ὅτε τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐκύρου τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε μηδένα διώκεσθαι φόνου; ἢ ὅτε ζήτησιν εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρώαν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐπὴνέσατε πάντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δι' ὑμᾶς οὐ διέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἢ νηποινεῖ πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθνήσκειν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστίν, ἃ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἡμῖν Ἀντώνιος ἐν δύο μηνσίν, οἷς μόνοις ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Καίσαρα, ἄρτι μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντος, ἄρτι δὲ ὑμῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις· οὐ τίνα καιρόν, εἰ πονηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείνονα εἶχεν;

“Ἄλλ' ἐς τὰ ἐναντία· οὐκ ἦρχε. πῶς; οὐ μόνος ἦρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα; οὐ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of Antony's administration since Caesar's death, come, let me examine his acts one by one. CHAP.
VIII

57. "Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial—he who is now in danger of being condemned himself without trial? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public accounts? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompeius the son of your Pompeius, and payment for his father's confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded, and because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate? Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by anyone who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months, the only months that he remained in the city after Caesar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had?

"But, you will say, the fact is quite the other way: he was not in authority. What? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed

CAP. VIIΙ στρατὸν εἶχεν ἑτοιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένον; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλήν; οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος, φίλου τέ οἱ καὶ εὐεργέτου ὄντος καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντος; οὐχ ἑτέραν εἶχεν οἰκείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένος ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ὧν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἢ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα, συνέγνω δέ, ὅσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδομένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἀναμφίλογα Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὀράτε· 58. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ μαντεύματα ἐπάγουσιν, ὥς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσειε δὲ προλαβόντος αὐτὴν ἐτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου, τὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἡμῖν ἀσήμαντον οὐχ ἡγείται πολέμιον; πῶς δ', εἴπερ ἠθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἀφίκετο; ἢ τρισμυρίους ἔχων συντεταγμένους ἔδεισε τρισχιλίους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντας ἀνόπλους, ἄσυντάκτους, ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ εὐθύς, ὥς ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἰρούμενον, καταλιπόντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἐλθεῖν ἔδεισε, πῶς ἦλθε μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Τίβυρον ἐξιόντα πόσοι προεπέμπομεν καὶ πόσοι συνώμνυμεν οὐχ ὀρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων ἐπαίνους ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ' αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for Syria? Did he not keep an armed force that you gave him in readiness in the city? Did he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Caesar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? Yet none of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them.

CHAP.
VIII

“You behold then, Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony. 58. But since in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavian had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that, when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy, the one who actually comes and encamps alongside of us without emblems of authority is not regarded by Cicero as an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavian’s 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these what a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such

CAP. VIIII ἐγίγνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ νῦν ὄντα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν; μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μεираκίον υἱόν; οὐκ κλαίουσι καὶ δεδίασι νῦν οὐ τὴν Ἀντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυναστείαν.

59. “Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξενήνοχα δείγμα τῆς Ἀντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μεταβολῆς· παραίνεσιν δ’ ἐπιθήσω τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι μήτε ἐς τὸν δῆμον μήτε ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἐχθρας καὶ κινδύνους ἐπάγειν τοῖς κοινοῖς, νοσοῦσης ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀπορούσης τῶν ὀξέως ἀμυνούντων, δύναμιν δ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει συστησάμενους, πρὶν θορυβῆσαί τι τῶν ἔξω, τὴν ἀρκέσουσαν, τότε τοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἐπείγουσιν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ κρίνειν, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε, δυναμένους τὸ κεκρίμενον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταῦτα; εἰ Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἐώμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἢ χάριν τοῦ δήμου τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν ὧν ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ’ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετέστη, καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω γὰρ πέντε τελῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ψηφίζοίμεθα ἂν, ὃ τι δοκιμάζοιμεν, ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐλπίδας αἰωρούμενοι.

60. “Καὶ τάδε μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ φιλονικίας ἀκρωμένοις· τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπαρασκεύως δι’ οἰκείαν ἐχθραν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἐκθορυβοῦσιν ὑμᾶς κριτὰς παραινῶ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἄνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up son, who are even now at the door of the Senate-house weeping and fearful, not on account of the policy of Antony, but of the overwhelming power of his enemies. CHAP.
VIII

59. "These facts I have now brought before you as proof of Antony's defence and of Cicero's fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavian to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favour of no man.

60. "I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and inconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages,

CAP. VIII. στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντας ἱκανῆς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἐκπολε-
μοῦν, ἀναμιμνησκομένους Μαρκίου τε τοῦ Κοριο-
λανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔναγχος δὴ ταῦτα Καίσαρος, ὃν
στρατιᾶς ὁμοίως ἡγούμενον καὶ σπονδὰς ἀρί-
στας ἂν ἡμῖν γενομένας προτείνοντα προπετῶς
πολέμιον ψηφισάμενοι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιον ἠναγ-
κάσαμεν γενέσθαι, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου
πρὸ βραχείος τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς Καίσαρος
ἐπιδραμόντος, μὴ ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ δοκῶμεν
τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν διδόναι, Δέκμον δὲ
ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου νόμον ἀκυροῖ, καὶ Ἀντώ-
νιον πολέμιον κρίνειν, ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔλαβε
παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ὦν τοὺς μὲν εὖ βουλευομένους
ἐνθυμείσθαι χρὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔτι πλανωμένων, τοὺς
δ' ὑπάτους καὶ δημάρχους πλείονας κινδυνεύουσι
τοῖς κοινοῖς γενέσθαι.”

61. Ὡς δὲ μὲν ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ὠνείδιζεν
ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αἷτιος ἐγένετο μὴ
ψηφισθῆναι πολέμιον Ἀντώνιον. οὐ μὲν ἐκρά-
τησε τῆς Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν
σφαγέων φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέους
ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι
τὸν φόνον Καίσαρι συναλλαγεῖς· διὸ καὶ στασιάζ-
ειν αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζον Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον.
ἐψηφίσαντο δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προαγορεῦσαι Μακε-
δονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας
ἐντολάς, εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτ' ἐξεπίτηδες, Κικέρωνα
συγγράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι προσ-
έταξαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην παραφέρων συνέγρα-
φεν ὧδε Μουτίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ἀπανίστασθαι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

who command strong armies, and not to force them into war against their will. Remember Marcius Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Caesar, whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like manner leading an army and offering us the fairest terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an enemy in deed. Have regard for the people who were lately pursuing Caesar's murderers, lest we seem to insult them by giving those murderers the governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for nullifying the people's law, and by voting Antony an enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of the country ought to take thought for the erring, and the consuls and tribunes ought to multiply their activities ¹ in view of the public dangers."

CHAP.
VIII

61. Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his enemies and alarming them. He was evidently the cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in securing for him the governorship of the Gallic province. The friends and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join Octavian in avenging the murder, for which reason they meant to keep Octavian and Antony always at variance with each other. They voted to offer Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province, and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, that the other commands of the Senate be reduced to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows: "Antony must raise the siege of Mutina forthwith,"

The Senate
orders
Antony to
desist from
the siege
of Mutina

¹ The text is probably corrupt. Compare perhaps the French *se multiplier*: "to be a host in oneself."

CAP. VIII. καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν μεθιέναι, ἐντὸς δὲ
 'Ρουβίκωνος ποταμοῦ, τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὀρίζοντος
 ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς, ἡμέρα ῥητῇ γενόμενον ἐπι-
 τρέψαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντα τῇ βουλῇ. οὕτω
 μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐντολὰς ὁ
 Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσῆσδε
 ὑπούσης, ἀλλ', ὥς ἔοικε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ
 εἰς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρωνι
 κακῶς ἐπινοοῦντος. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίου
 λειψάνων κομισθέντων καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως
 γνωσθείσης ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἡ βουλή
 τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

62. Οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσ-
 βεις, αἰδούμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἀλλόκοτον, οὐδὲν
 μὲν ἔφασαν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ
 Ἀντώνιος σὺν ὀργῇ πολλὰ ἔς τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ
 τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα
 μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἡγοῦνται τύραννον ἢ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ
 νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν εἶλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ
 ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φονέας προτί-
 θησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν
 ὄντα φίλον ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον
 ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα
 λαβόντι τὴν Κελτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to the hither side of the river Rubicon (which forms the boundary between Italy and the province) before a specified day, and submit himself in all things to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did Cicero write the orders of the Senate, not by reason of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation of some evil spirit that was goading the republic to revolution and meditating destruction to Cicero himself.¹ The remains of Trebonius having been lately brought home and the indignities visited upon him more carefully inquired into, the Senate with little opposition declared Dolabella a public enemy.

62. The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was astonished," he said, "that they should consider Caesar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Caesar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Caesar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Caesar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favours a man who took the province of Gaul after Caesar's death without authority, and makes war on one who received it at the hands of

CHAP
VIII

Antony's
reply

¹ The statement that Cicero falsified the message of the Senate to Antony is untrue. Cicero was vehemently opposed to sending ambassadors to Antony, and in favour of an immediate declaration of war and the levying of troops against him.

CAP. VIII. τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολεμεῖ. “ τῶν τε ἐψηφισ-
μένων μοι τελῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτομολήσασι γέρα
δίδωσι, τοῖς δὲ παραμείνασιν οὐ, διαφθείρων οὐκ
ἐμοὶ μάλλον ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ
τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ἥ καὶ γὰρ
συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἄνδρας αἰδεσίμους· Ἀντώνιον
δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἡγεῖται πολεμίους, ὅτι τῶν
δεδομένων ἐχόμεθα. ἥδε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς
αἰτία· κὰν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὔτε πολέμιος
οὔτε μόναρχός εἰμι. ταῦτα μέντοι μαρτύρομαι
λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνηστίαν.”

63. Τοιαῦδε πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραφε
τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἂν ἐς ἅπαντα
ὡς πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράψαντι τὰς
ἐντολὰς ὧδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι. “ ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκέ μοι
τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμῳ, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθούντα τῷ
νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτήσω
μόνον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καθαρεύσῃ
ποτέ τοῦ μύσους, ἐμπιπλαμένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα
Δέκμῳ βοηθούντα.” τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἶπέ
τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα
ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρα-
τόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταῖεν αὐτοῦ. Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ
τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις
ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μάρκον Βρούτον ἄρχειν,
μέχρι κατασταίῃ τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἰδίον τε εἶχεν
ἤδη στρατὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουλίου τινὰ προσει-

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the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two men who deserve respect. He holds Dolabella and myself as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor autocrat! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied.”

CHAP.
VIII

63. After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he made the following answer: “The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit with punishment for the murder him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero’s support of Decimus, may at last be purged of such pollution.” These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply.¹ The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him, if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be re-established. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apuleius. He also had

The Senate
votes him
a public
enemy

Macedonia
voted to
Brutus and
Syria to
Cassius

¹ Antony’s reply is quoted by Cicero with a running comment in the eighth Philippic (8-9.)

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIIΙ. λήφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε μακράς τε καὶ ὀλκάδας καὶ χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ ὅπλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν Δημητριάδι Γαίῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ γιγνόμενα εὔρεν· οἷς ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ τότε ἐψηφίζετο ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος χρῆσθαι. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἄρχειν τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλα· τοὺς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι τινὸς ἔθνους ἢ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω, πάντα ὑπακούειν ἐς ὃ τι προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βρούτος.

IX

CAP. IX. 64. Ὡδε μὲν ὀξέως σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐξελάμπρυνον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἠπόρητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμνηστίαν ἡγούμενος εὐπρέπειαν ἐσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἔλεον συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων, καὶ τὰς βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν. Δέκμῳ τε τὴν Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ τυραννίδος διαφέρεισθαι, ᾧ προσποιήματι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ' Ἀντωνίου· τὸ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι δι' ἓνα τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἔθνη διαλλάξαι στρατόπεδά τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἀποφῆναι πάντων, ὅσοι πέραν εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν μὲν Πομπηίου μοῖραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 talents in money, and quantities of arms which he found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by Gaius Caesar long before, all of which the Senate now voted that he should use for the advantage of the republic. They voted that Cassius should be governor of Syria and that he should make war against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus in all things.

CHAP.
VIII

IX

64. Thus quickly did the Senate seize the opportunity to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a brilliant aspect. When Octavian learned what had been done he was troubled. He had considered the amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, and that the very small commands had been given them for their safety merely; finally, the confirming of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to have been done by reason of the Senate's difference with Antony respecting the supreme power, on which ground also they were inciting him against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy because he had put one of the murderers to death, the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the largest provinces, the granting of great armies and large sums of money to them and putting them in command of all the governors beyond the Adriatic sea—all pointed plainly to the building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling

CHAP.
IX

Octavian
alarmed by
the action
of the
Senate

CAP.
IX. καθαιρούντων. ἐνεθυμείτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὥς
μειράκιον τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν
παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων,
ἔργῳ δὲ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὄντα ἀφαιρου-
μένων· ὑπάτων γὰρ συστρατηγούντων οὐδὲν εἶναι
τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον· τὰ τε γέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ
Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστᾶσιν ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς
αὐτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμοῦν· καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ὅλως αὐτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἔχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν
βουλὴν ἀποχρησθαι οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι
καθέλωσιν αὐτόν.

65. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύων ἐπὶ
τῇ δεδομένῃ ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη· “καὶ
τάδε μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, γέγονεν, οὐ
νῦν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδίδοτε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ
βουλὴ δι’ ὑμᾶς ἔδωκεν. ὥστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων
ἴστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσοντα καί, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ
παρέχωσιν εὐπραγεῖν, ἀποδώσοντα ἀθρόως”.

Ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ὑπήγετο,
τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἐξενάγει, Ἰρτιος δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν
ἐμερίζετο καί, ὥς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν
ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ἦτει τὰ δύο τέλη
τὰ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὄντα
τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὁ μὲν
Καῖσαρ ἅπαντα συνεχώρει, μερισάμενοι δὲ
ἐχείμαζον μετ’ ἀλλήλων· παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ
χειμῶνος ἤδη Δέκμος μὲν ἔκαμνεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

down of that of Caesar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of *propraetor*, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a *propraetor* has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed.

65. Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army: "I owe these honours of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings."

In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavian, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavian yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and Hirtius

CHAP.
IX

CAP. IX. Ἰρτιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν Μουτίνην ἐχώρου, μὴ κάμνοντα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν ὃ Ἀντώνιος παραλάβοι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυλασσομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πανσυδὶ μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἵππομαχίαι δ' ἦσαν πυκναί, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἵππείας ἔχοντος Ἀντωνίου· τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ χειμάρρους ἐκτεταφρευμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ πλήθος ἀπεστέρει.

66. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἦγεν ὑπὸ δημοκοπίας· καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι, ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο συναγαγὼν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς ἀμισθὶ καὶ χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυτάτας ἐσφοράς τοῖς Ἀντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθει. οἱ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐσέφερον ἐκλυόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ φίλος ὢν, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς Καίσαρος ἀποικίας ἐκδραμὼν ὡς γνώριμος δύο εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνестράτευσε τέλη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἠπείγετο. τότε μὲν δὴ θόρυβός τε ἦν ἄπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλείους μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαθὼν εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε. διακλειόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἰρτίου εἰς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα παρήλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλλογίσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and Octavian advanced towards Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army which was now weak with famine; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

CHAP.
IX
Octavian
Hirtius and
Pansa
march to
the relief
of Decimus

66. Such was the course of events round Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the armourers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Caesar and who was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Caesar's colonies, where he was well known, and brought over two legions to Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his course towards Antony, but being intercepted by Octavian and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen.¹

Activity
of Cicero
in Rome

¹ This tale, in so far as it relates to Cicero, must be entirely fictitious, since nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Philippics, although Ventidius is mentioned twice after his supposed march upon Rome to arrest Cicero.

CAP.
IX

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ στρατιᾶς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλήιον αὐτῷ προσέπεμπον ἄγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ τὸ Ἄρειον τέλος εἰς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ὥς οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ κωλύσων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἀγῶνος, οὐκ ἔχων τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἐλωδέστερον ὄν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε τέλη τὰ ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἔλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποιήτου καὶ στενῆς οὔσης, ἐκατέρωθεν τῷ δόνακι κρύπτων.

67. Καρσουλήιου δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς διαδραμόντων, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείοις καὶ πέντε ἄλλαις τάξεσιν εἰς τὴν χειροποίητον ὁδὸν ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρεύουσιν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐκατέρωθεν ὃν περισκεπτομένων, ὃ τε δόναξ διακινούμενος ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ ἀσπίς ἤδη που καὶ κράνος ἐξέλαμπε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς Ἀντωνίου τάξεις αὐτοῖς αἰφνίδιον ἐπεφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δ' Ἀρειοὶ περιειλημένοι τε πάντοθεν καὶ οὐδαμόσε διαδραμεῖν ἔχοντες ἐκέλευον τοὺς νεήλυδας εἰ παραγένοιτο, μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ὥς μὴ συνταράξειαν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατηγίδι δὲ Ἀντωνίου τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς δύο διαιρεθέντες ἐνέβαινον εἰς ἑκάτερον ἔλος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεστάτουν τῇ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῇ δὲ ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἐλῶν ὄντων δύο ἦσαν οἱ πόλεμοι, τῇ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γινώσκειν τὰ ἀλλήλων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν διόδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν. γνῶμη δὲ ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

When Pansa was drawing near with his army, Octavian and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with Octavian's praetorian cohort and the Martian legion to assist him in passing through the defile. Antony had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no other purpose than to hinder the enemy; but, eager to fight, and having no chance to win distinction with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by the reeds and where the road, which had been thrown up artificially, was narrow.

67. Carsuleius and Pansa hurried through the defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the high road above mentioned, which was still free from enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. There was a suspicious agitation of the rushes, then a gleam here and there of shield and helmet, and Antony's praetorian cohort suddenly shewed itself directly in their front. The Martian legion, surrounded on all sides and having no way to escape, ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in the fight lest they should cause confusion by their inexperience. The praetorians of Octavian confronted the praetorians of Antony. The other troops divided themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in two marshes, and neither division could see the other by reason of the elevated road, while along the road itself the praetorian cohorts fought another battle of their own. The Antonians were determined to

CHAP.
IX

Battle
between
Antony and
the consul
Pansa

CAP.
IX. Ἀρείους ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτομολίας οἷα προδότας σφῶν γενομένους, τοῖς δ' Ἀρείοις ἐκείνους τῆς ὑπεροφίας τῶν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διεφθαρμένων. συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλοις τὸ κράτιστον ὡς εἴη τῆς ἐκατέρου στρατιᾶς, ἤλπιζον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὖσιν δι' ἐνὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ φιλοτιμία μόνοις τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.

68. Οὕτω μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπήεσαν διωργισμένοι τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἰκεῖον ἡγούμενοι τότε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἠλάλαξαν ὥς οὐκ ἐκπλήξοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφήκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσώμενος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὥς ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους ὥσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὥς ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγὴ τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ βοῆς· ὃ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἐδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων δίσταντο καὶ αὖθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιαύδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.

69. Πονουμένων δὲ ὧδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἡ μὲν στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἀρείων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσου-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to themselves. The Martians were equally determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundisium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either army, they hoped to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two. CHAP.
IX

68. Thus urged on by animosity and ambition they assailed each other, considering this their own affair rather than that of their generals. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging amid marshes and ditches, they met together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

69. All put forth superhuman exertions, and the praetorians of Octavian perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius

CAP.
IX.

ληίῳ μᾶλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ αἰσχροῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδόντων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πάνσᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαροῦντο, διεκαρτέρουν δ' ὅμως ἐπ' ἴσης ἐκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας ὀβελῶ τὴν λαγόνα τρωθεὶς ἐς Βουωνίαν ἐξεφέρετο. τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρουν, ἐπὶ πόδα πρῶτον, εἶτα μεταβαλόντες ὀξύτερον ὡς ἐν φυγῇ. καὶ οἱ νεήλυδες ἰδόντες ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο ὁ ταμίας Τορκουᾶτος συνεστῶσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης, ὑπονοήσας ἐν χρεῖα γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεήλυδες ἐς αὐτὸ ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἱταλοὶ μὲν ὄντες ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις· ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις ἄρα τοῦ γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῇ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἀρειοὶ οὐκ ἐσῆλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸ ἔστησαν· κατάκοποι δὲ ὄντες ὥργων ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐπίοι, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τέλους διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὡς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεήλυσιν ἐπιδραμὼν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

70. Ἰρτιος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἀπεχούσης, ἴετο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων. ἤδη τε ἦν ὀψία δεῖλη, καὶ οἱ νικῆσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπανήεσαν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰρτιος ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν ἐπιφαίνεται συντεταγμένος ὀλοκλήρῳ τέλει καὶ ἀπαθεί. οἱ δὲ συντετάχθησαν μὲν αὖθις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο· οἷα δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

got the better of those opposed to them, who gave way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but they held out with equal bravery on both sides until Pansa was wounded in the side by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers retired, at first step by step, but afterwards they turned and hurried as if in flight. When the new levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud cries, to their camp, which the quaestor, Torquatus, had put in readiness for them while the battle was in progress, apprehending that it might be needed. The new levies crowded into it confusedly although they were Italians, as well as the Martians; so much more does training contribute to bravery than race; but the Martians for fear of shame did not enter into the camp, but ranged themselves near it. Although fatigued they were still furious and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack them. Antony refrained from attacking the Martians as being a troublesome business, but he fell upon the new levies and made a great slaughter.

CHAP.
IX

Pansa is
wounded
and his
men retire
to their
camp

70. When Hirtius, near Mutina, heard of this fight, at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither with the other legion that had deserted from Antony. It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph. While they were in loose order Hirtius made his appearance in perfect order with his legion complete and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line under compulsion, and performed against this foe also many splendid deeds of valour; but being wearied by their recent exertions they were overcome by the fresh army opposed to them, and the

Hirtius
comes to
the rescue
and defeats
Antony

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
IX. ἀκμήτων ἡσσῶντο κεκμηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἰρτίου διέφθειρε, καίπερ οὐ διώκοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἐλῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἤδη μελαινομένης διέλυσεν αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὄπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡμιθνήτων καὶ τετρωμένων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατεφρόνουν. ἱππέες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου περιθέοντες, ὅσοι παρήσπιζον αὐτῷ, δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνετίθεντο ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχάζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὧδε μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέφθαρτο ἡ ἰσχὺς διὰ Ἰρτίου ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ἠϋλίσατο ἐν κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδίου ἀχαρακώτως· Ἀγορὰ Κελτῶν ἡ κώμη καλεῖται. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἐκατέρων, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα, Ἰρτίου δὲ ὀλίγοι.

X

CAP.
X. 71. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἀνεξεύγνουν ἐς τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ στρατόπεδα πάντες. γνώμη δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσῶδε πταίσματι μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μεγάλη μάχη μηδ' ἐπιόντων ἀμύνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τὰ ἐφήμερα μόνα αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλεῖν, μέχρι παραδῶῃ Δέκμος αὐτὸν ἐς ἔσχατον ἤδη λιμοῦ τετρυμένος, Ἰρτίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπέιγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκτάσσουν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐπεξῆγεν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

greater part of them were slain in this encounter CHAP. IX
by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness was coming on he allowed them to escape. A wide stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses, wounded men, and half-dead men, and some even who were unhurt mistrusted their strength by reason of their fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he had with him, went to their assistance and collected them through the entire night. Some they put on horseback in their own places, others they took on the horses with themselves, still others they urged to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's forces, after he had fought splendidly, destroyed by the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without entrenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum Gallorum. Antony and Pansa each lost about one-half of their men. The whole of Octavian's praetorian cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight.

X

71. THE next day they all withdrew to the camps CHAP. X
at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony decided not to come to a general engagement with his enemies at present, not even if they should attack him, but merely to harass them daily with his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to extremity by famine, should surrender. For this very reason Hirtius and Octavian decided to push on a fight. As Antony would not come out when they offered battle, they moved toward the other

Octavian
and Hirtius
defeat
Antony at
Mutina

CAP. X. Μουτίνης ἀφυλακτότερα ὄντα διὰ δυσχέρειαν ἐχώρουν ὡς βιασόμενοι βαρεῖ στρατῷ παρεσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐξήπτετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τότε μόνοις. ἀμύνομένων δὲ κακείνων αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς χωρούσης, ἐφ' ἧ ἐβούλοντο, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐξῆγε δύο τέλη· οἱ δὲ ἡσθέντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἄλλα δὲ Ἀντωνίου τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὧν βραδέως ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἰόντων ἐκράτουν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ μάχῃ. Ἴρτιος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσδραμὼν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχευε, ἕως μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξεώσθη πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. διενυκτέρευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκάτεροι.

72. Καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος δευτέρα τῇδε συμπεσὼν πληγῇ συνεβουλεύετο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῆς προτέρας αὐτὸν γνώμης ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα· τό τε γὰρ πάθος ὅμοιον ἀμφοῖν γεγενέσθαι καὶ Ἴρτιον ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ Πάνσαν νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφίχθαι λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδῶσειν. ὧδε μὲν ἤρεσκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἥδη θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸς ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσδράμοι ἢ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged CHAP. X
on account of the badness of the ground, as if about
to force their way into the town with their strong
army. Antony hung upon their movement with his
cavalry and this time also with those alone. But as
the enemy, too, fought him with their cavalry only,
the rest of their army moving to effect their pur-
poses, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew
out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his
enemies, rejoicing at this, turned and delivered
battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other
camps, but as they came slowly, by reason of the
suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army
of Octavian won the victory. Hirtius even broke Death of Hirtius
into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting
near the general's tent. Octavian rushed in and
carried off his body and possessed himself of the
camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony.
Both sides passed the night also under arms.

72. When Antony had suffered this second defeat,
he took counsel with his friends directly after the
battle. They advised him to adhere to his first
resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and
not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had
been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having
been killed and Pansa wounded; they said that he
was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced
to extremity by famine and must succumb. Such
was the advice of his friends, and it was truly for
the best. But Antony, already under some divine
infatuation, was fearful lest Octavian should make
another attempt to break into Mutina like that
of yesterday, or even try to enclose him, as
Octavian had the greater force to work with,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
X. περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, “ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων,” ἔφη, “γιγνομένων ἡμῖν ἀχρήστων, ὑπερόψεται με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττώμενον. εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἐξανασταῖμεν, Οὐεντίδιός τε ἡμῖν αὐτίκα προσέσται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρωμένως οἱ συμμαχήσουσι.” ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἄτολμος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνὴρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο καὶ ὤδευεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων.

73. Δέκμῳ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο· τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων ἐκποδὼν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἐδεδοίκει. τὰς τε οὖν γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοπτε πρὸ ἡμέρας καὶ κελητίῳ τινὰς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποστέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἡξίου δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς λόγους οἱ συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς πολίταις· πείσειν γάρ, ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαψεν, ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπηγμένον ὑφ’ ἐτέρων. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἀποκριναμένου τε πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν χάριν, ἣν δίδωσιν οἱ Δέκμος, διωθουμένου (“οὐδὲ γὰρ Δέκμον ἐγὼ πάρειμι περισώσω, ἀλλ’ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμήσω, ᾧ μοι καὶ συναλλαγῆναί ποτε θέμις· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ ἐς ὄψιν ἢ λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέπει· σωξέσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει δοκεῖ”), πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔστη τε πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, σὺν βοῇ τὰ γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε, διδούσης οἱ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευέ τε Καίσαρι χωρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

"in which case," said he, "our cavalry will be useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will presently join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be emboldened to ally themselves with him." So he spake, although he was not a timid man in the presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith he made his way toward the Alps.

CHAP.
X

Antony
flees to
the Alps

73. When Decimus was delivered from the siege he began to be afraid of Octavian, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavian in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavian would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavian, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and that he had been led into the conspiracy against Caesar by others. Octavian answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms some time, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavian by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavian to cross the river without consular authority into the government belonging to another,

Decimus
seeks an
interview
with
Octavian

CAP.
X. ἀλλοτρίαν ἡγεμονίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔτι
χωρεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν διώκων ἀρκέσειν. ὁ δὲ
ἦδει μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν εἰς τήνδε τὴν
θρασύτητα αὐξανόμενον, δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν ἐκ προσ-
τάγματος ἐλεῖν ἐφείδετο ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πάνσαν
εἰς Βονωνίαν τραπεὶς ἔγραφε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ἀπάν-
των. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Πάνσας.

74. Καὶ Κικέρων ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν δῆμον
ἀνεγίγνωσκεν ὡς ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ
βουλῇ μόνον· θυσίας τε ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα
ἡμερῶν ἱκεσίους ἐψηφίζετο, ὅσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς
οὔτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι,
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδου Δέκμῳ καίπερ
ἔτι Πάνσα περιόντος (ἥδη γὰρ ἀπεγιγνώσκετο),
στρατηγὸν τε τὸν Δέκμον ἀπέφηνεν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ
μόνον εἶναι καὶ εὐχὰς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμον
Ἀντωνίου περιγενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἷστρος
αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἐβεβαίου
τε αὐθις τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μετα-
στᾶσι τὰς ἐκάστῳ προὔπeschημένας παρὰ τοῦ
κοινοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπινικίους δραχμὰς πεντακισ-
χιλίας ὡς ἥδη νενικηκόσι καὶ στέφανον αὐτοὺς ἐν
ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἰεὶ θαλλοῦ περιτίθεσθαι. περὶ δὲ
Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις, οὐδὲ
τοῦνομα ὅλως· οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο ὡς
Ἀντωνίου καθηρημένου. ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ
καὶ Πλάγκῳ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλη-
σιάσειαν Ἀντωνίῳ.

75. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Πάνσας δ' ἐκ
τοῦ τραύματος ἀποθνήσκων Καίσαρά οἱ παρεστή-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

and not to follow Antony further, for that he himself CHAP. X would be quite capable of pursuing him. Octavian knew that he was prompted to this audacious course by the Senate, and although able to seize him by giving an order, he spared him for the present and withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise.

74. In Rome Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of Octavian. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days,—a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavian in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to continue the campaign so as to come to close quarters with Antony.

75. Such was the course of events at Rome. In Death of Pansa the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he

CAP. X. σατο καὶ εἶπεν· “ ἐγὼ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἑμαυτῷ, ἀναιρεθέντι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἐπαμύνειν οὐδὲ τοῖς πλείοσι μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσας, καίτοι στρατὸν ἔχων. δείσαντες δ’ ἐν ἀρχῇ σέ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλοτιμότατον κἀκείνον ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην φανέντα, διαφερομένοις ὑμῖν ἐφήσθησαν ὡς ἐς ἀλλήλους συντριβησομένοις. ἐπεὶ δέ σε καὶ στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιούντο εὐπρεπέσι καὶ ἀσθενέσι τιμαῖς οἷα μειράκιον. σοβαρωτέρου δέ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μάλιστα ὀφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι δεδομένην οὐκ ἐδέξω, διεταράχθησαν καὶ συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐλπίσαντες ἡττηθέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἀσθενέστερόν τε καὶ μόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἤδη πᾶσαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἐταιρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξειν τὴν Πομπηίου· τόδε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον.

76. “ Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ἰρτιος τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποιούμεν μέχρι συστείλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψία· ἡττηθέντα δὲ σοὶ συναλλάσσειν ἐπενοοούμεν, ὡς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τόδε χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ μοίρᾳ χρησιμώτατον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοι πρότερον, ἡττημένου δὲ νῦν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ἰρτίου τεθνεώτος καὶ μὲ τοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

summoned Octavian to his side, and said :¹ “ I loved CHAP.
X
your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor could I fail to unite with the majority, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he also seemed to be most ambitious to continue the policy of Caesar, and they were delighted with your dissensions, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and inexpensive honours. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honours than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when one of you was vanquished the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Caesar’s party would be effaced and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim.

76. “ Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Caesar’s friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Caesar’s party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am

¹ This interview is probably an invention of the Augustan age.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
X χρεῶν ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἵνα μοι γινώσκης χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοίρᾳ γενόμενος, ὥς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τά τε σαυτῷ συμφέροντα γινώσκης καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ Ἰρτίου προαίρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τὸν μὲν οὖν στρατόν, ὃν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδοῦναί σοι, καὶ παραδίδωμι· τοὺς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεις λαβών, καὶ τούσδε σοι παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλήν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἡμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἶναι, καὶ τό τε ἔργον ἐπίφθονον ἔσται σοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξανίστησί σε, ὁ ταμίας παραλήψεται Τορκουᾶτος.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανε. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ ταμίας, καθὰ προσέτασεν ἡ βουλή, Δέκμῳ παρεδίδου, Ἰρτιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε μετὰ τιμῆς.

XI

CAP.
XI 77. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περί τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὅτε Συρίαν διώδευε, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλελοίπει τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Καικίλιος Βάσσος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ἰούλιος Σέξστος, μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενές, ὃπερ ἐκδιαιτῶμενον ἐς τρυφὴν τὸ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ. μεμψαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν αὐτὸν
96

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quaestor Torquatus will take command of them." After speaking thus he formally transferred the new levies to the quaestor and expired. The quaestor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavian sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honours to Rome, where they received a public funeral.

XI

77. THE following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Caesar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Caecilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Caesar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and some time later, when he called Bassus to him

CHAP.
X

CHAP.
XI
State of
affairs in
Syria

CAP. ^{XI} ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ βραδέως ὑπήκουσεν, ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἔλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενομένων ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον κατηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθύς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συννομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου διαγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ Βάσσον ἀναγκάσαντες ἄλλο συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὧδε μὲν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβωνι δ', ὅτι τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν ἰδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ, διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο τὸν Σέξστον καὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὅποτέρως δ' ἐγένετο, Σταῖον Μοῦρκον οἶδε, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐγκρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἕως ὃ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὃ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν.

78. Ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκούντο, ὃ Κάσσιος σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαβὼν τὰ τε τοῦ Βάσσου δύο τέλη παρελάμβανεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτὸν ἕξ, φιλία τε παραδόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνθυπάτῳ κατηκόων γενομένων· ἐψήφιστο γάρ, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε καὶ Βρούτῳ. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡσέσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὃ Κάσσιος

and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the indignity and slew Julius. This act was followed by repentance and fear of Caesar. Accordingly, they took an oath together that they would defend themselves to the death if they were not pardoned and restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They also enlisted and drilled another legion as associates with themselves. This is one account of Bassus, but Libo¹ says that he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their leader. However that may have been, Caesar sent Staius Murcus against him with three legions. Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Murcus appealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and the latter came to his aid with three legions.

78. While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him

CHAP.
XI

Cassius
raises an
army

¹ Λίβωνι; either Scribonius Libo, or there is an error of text for Λίβιφ (Livy).

CAP. οὐδὲν προπεπυσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιέλαβέ
 XI τε καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι, δείσαντα
 τοῖς τέσσαρσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. ὧδε μὲν δὴ
 Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δυνάδεκα τελῶν ἀθρόως
 ἐκράτει καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο
 τέλεσιν ἐλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειό-
 τητος ἐσδεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ
 ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφήδετο.

79. Μακεδονίας δὲ περί Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ
 Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου ἀδελφός, Βρούτῳ διεφέρετο
 καὶ ἐπολέμει, τέλος ἔχων ἐν ὀπλιτῶν· καὶ τὸν
 Βρούτον ἡσώμενος ἐνήδρευσε. ὁ δ' ἐκφυγὼν
 ἀντενήδρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἀποληφθέντας,
 ἀλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναν-
 τίους προσέταξε· τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀντασπασαμένων
 οὐδὲ τὴν πείραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθήκεν ἀπαθεῖς
 ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς
 περιελθὼν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις κατέστησε καὶ
 πάλιν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἡσπάσατο. οἱ δέ,
 ὡς πολιτῶν τε περιφειδόμενον καὶ τῆς δόξης
 ἄξιον ἧς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ πραότητι, ἡγά-
 σαντο καὶ ἀντησπάσαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν μετε-
 βάλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν καὶ
 ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν στρατὸν
 πολλάκις διαφθείρων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀνῆρέθη. οὕτω
 μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν
 ἐξ ἐγένετο τέλη· καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη
 κατέλεξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον
 καὶ τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

80. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ
 Μακεδονίαν ἦν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III.

unawares in Palestine and compelled him to sur- CHAP.
render, as he did not dare to fight with four legions XI
against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in
a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to
Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two
legions and had been received in Laodicea in a
friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when
it heard the news.

79. In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Brutus captures
Mark Antony, with one legion of foot soldiers, con- Gaius
tended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength Antonius
to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus in
avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, Macedonia
but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it,
but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversar-
ies. Although the latter did not return the saluta-
tion or accept the courtesy, he allowed them to pass
out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around
by other roads and confronted them again at a preci-
pice, and again did them no harm but saluted them.
Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow citizens
and as one deserving the reputation he had gained
for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admira-
tion for him, saluted him, and passed over to him.
Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with
honour by Brutus until he was convicted of having
tried several times to corrupt the army, when he
was put to death. Thus, including his former forces,
Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he
approved the valour of the Macedonians he raised
two legions among them, whom, too, he drilled in
the Italian discipline.

80. Such was the state of affairs in Syria and
Macedonia. In Italy Octavian, although he con-

CAP.
XI

ὑβρεῖ θέμενος ἀντὶ οὗ Δέκμον ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπέκρυπτε, θρίαμβον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἦτει. καταφρονούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπινοῶν, ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρέντος Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφρονηθεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν συμβάσεις ἐπόθει, καθὰ καὶ Πάνσας αὐτῷ διεσήμαιεν ἀποθνήσκων. τοὺς τε οὖν ἁλωμένους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἢ στρατιώτας ἐφιλανθρωπεύετο, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγκατέλεγεν ἢ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπεν, ὡς οὐ δι' ἔχθρας ἀνηκέστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰόντα. Οὐεντιδίῳ τε τῷ Ἀντωνίου φίλῳ, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ὄντι, παραστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ δέος ἐμβαλὼν ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν πολέμιον, ἐδίδου δὲ ὁμοίως συνεῖναί οἱ ἢ ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀγνωσίας. ὦν Οὐεντίδιος συνεῖς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆει. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Δέκιον, τῶν τινα ἡγεμόνων Ἀντωνίου, περὶ Μουτίνην ληφθέντα διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων μεθῆκεν, εἰ θέλοι, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιέναι· καὶ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον γνώμης πολλὰ ἔφη σύμβολα τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν ἐξεννηροχέαι, τοῖς δ' ἄφροσιν οὐδὲ τὰ πλείονα ἀρκέσειν.

81. Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δὴ τάδε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεσήμαινε, Λεπίδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ σαφέστερον ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑβρεως καὶ τῆς τῶν σφαγέων ἀθρόας προαγωγῆς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐς χάριν τῆς Πομπηιανῆς ἑταιρείας καθ' ἓνα τῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

sidered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honours of a triumph for his exploits. But being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honours beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired the reconciliation with Antony, which Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of the stragglers from Antony's army, both officers and soldiers, enrolling them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony allowing them to do so, in order to show that Antony was not moved by implacable hatred against him. Having encamped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, he made him anxious, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity either to join himself or to go on unmolested with his army to Antony and chide him for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Decius also, one of Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, Octavian treated with honour, allowing him to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius asked what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that even more would be insufficient for fools.

81. After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavian wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest to secure the favour of the Pompeian faction, each of the Caesarians should one by

CHAP.
XI
Octavian
takes steps
toward a
reconcili-
ation with
Antony

He com-
municates
with
Lepidus and
Asinius
Pollio

CAP.
XI

Καίσαρος ἕκαστος ὅμοια Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, καὶ κείνῳ δι' ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους τάδε παθόντι. ἡξίου τε ἐς μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐς δὲ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς συμφρονεῖν, ἕως ἔτι δύνανται, καὶ ὄνειδίζειν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμεῖσθαί τε τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσιν ὀπλίτας· οὐ διαλυομένους, οὐδ' ὅτε παύσαιντο τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἶεν εὐεπίθετοι, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνοικίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἢ καθ' ἓνα τῶν πατρίδων ἀπολαύειν. τάδε μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ Λεπίδῳ τε ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀσινίῳ· Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγνυντο, ὃ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν. Πλάγκος δὲ προσεγένετο μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκμος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυνηγετήσειν ναυτικῶν περ ἥδη γεγονότων.

82. Οἱ τε Πομπηϊανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ θυσίαι καθ' ἓνα ἦσαν καὶ χειροτονίαι δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὐθυαν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀντωνίου. πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων· Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἢ πάνυ σμικρά, πάντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων διωκῇ, καὶ τότε σαφῶς εἰδυῖα ἡ βουλὴ τὰ μὲν τινα αὐτῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

one be treated like Antony, since he too was suffering the consequences of his own folly and contempt of this fear. He advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred for the sake of strength to settle together in groups upon the conquered territory, rather than to enjoy their own homes singly. This is what Octavian wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. But the first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Plancus soon joined him with his own army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would hunt down Antony, who was now a wanderer; certain small naval actions having already taken place.¹

82. When the Pompeians learned what had happened an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party; they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained: they each offered sacrifices, and decemvirs, too, were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Caesar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Caesar's memoranda. The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext

¹ The text is probably corrupt. The mention of naval actions is out of place.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XI. ἐπὶ προφάσεσι διέλυνεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἤλπιζε διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προύγραφον, ὃ τι τις λάβοι παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντωνίου, πάντας αὐτίκα ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν· ἀπειλαί τε τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ μετήεσαν ἀντὶ Ἰρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσα· μετῆει δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔτι πέμπων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ συνάρξαι, ὥς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικήσονται πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὄντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνην ἐς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὅπλων εὐπρεπῇ, οὐ δὴ καὶ πρῶην ἕνεκα τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτῆσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθέσθαι σπονδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔξω στρατηγοῖς ὑπονουμένων καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὑβρισμένον καὶ στρατοῦ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι τε παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ μηνίουτος ἐν ὅπλοις· ὥς δ' ἂν τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελέσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφρονα, τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῇ παιδαγωγόν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

for annulling a part of the measures it would be enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The decemvirs gave public notice that whoever had received anything in the course of Antony's government should make it known in writing immediately, and threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians also sought the consulship for the remainder of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa; but Octavian also sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero privately, whom he urged to become his colleague, saying that Cicero should carry on the government, as he was the elder and more experienced, and that he himself desired to enjoy the title only, as a means by which he could dismiss his army in a becoming manner, and that this was the reason he had previously asked the honour of a triumph. Cicero, whose desire for office was excited by this proposal, said to the Senate that he understood that a negotiation was on foot among the generals commanding the provinces, and he advised that they should conciliate the man whom they had treated with disdain and who was still at the head of a large army, and allow him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his youth, rather than that he should remain under arms in a state of resentment. But lest he should do anything contrary to the interests of the Senate, Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from among the older ones should be chosen as his colleague to be a firm guardian of the immature nature of Octavian.

CHAP.
XI

Octavian
applies
for the
consulship,
asking
Cicero to
be his
colleague

CAP.
XII

Ἄλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἢ τε βουλὴ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μάλιστα τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδιότες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ τίσαιτο ὑπατεύων. 83. ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ γιγνομένων ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεῶνα πείσας τὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ οὔτε χάρακα περιβάλετο οὔτε τάφρον ὥς δὴ φίλῳ παραστρατοπεδεύων. διαπομπαὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους πυκναί, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος φιλίας τε καὶ χαρίτων ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ' αὐτὸν ὅμοια πείσονται καθ' ἓνα πάντες, οἱ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλήν· δεδιότες πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύουσιν, ὑπισχνουμένου δ' ὅμως οὐ πολεμήσειν ἐκόντος. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τό τε ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀγάμενοι, ἐπεμίγνυντο τοῖς Ἀντωνίου λανθάνοντες, εἶτα φανερώς οἶα πολίταις τε καὶ συστρατιώταις γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλυόντων ὑπερώρων καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ναυσὶν ἐγεφύρουν· τό τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγήμενον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

84. Ὡν αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τις ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρευε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ

XII

THE Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the relatives of the murderers especially opposed him, CHAP. XII
 fearing lest Octavian, as consul, should bring the murderers to punishment, 83. but on various accounts the election was postponed by certain legal objections. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with the permission of Culleo, who had been stationed there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where Lepidus was encamped; but he neglected to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as though he were camping alongside a friend. Messengers were going to and fro between them constantly. Antony reminded Lepidus of their friendship and of his various good offices, pointing out that after he himself should be destroyed all who had enjoyed Caesar's friendship would suffer a like fate, one by one: Lepidus feared the Senate, which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he promised nevertheless that he would not do so willingly. The army of Lepidus, having respect for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers going to and fro, and being gratified with the simplicity of Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at first secretly, then openly, as with fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers; they disregarded the orders of the tribunes, who forbade their doing so; and in order to facilitate their intercourse they made a bridge of boats across the river. The Tenth Legion, which had been originally enlisted by Antony, arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

84. When Laterensis, one of the distinguished members of the Senate, perceived this, he warned

CAP.
XII

ἀπιστοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς πολλὰ διελόντα ἐκπέμψαι κατὰ δὴ τινὰς χρείας, εἰς ἐπίδειξιν ἢ τῆς προδοσίας ἢ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος εἰς τρία διελὼν, ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἐξορμᾶν εἰς φρουρὰν ταμείων πλησιαζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἅμφι τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, ὥς εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον ὀπλισάμενοι, τὰ ἔρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεώγνυν Ἀντωνίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Λεπίδου σκηνὴν ἴετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον εἰς ἀτυχοῦντας πολίτας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ὥς εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄζωστος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξέθορε καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡσπάζετο καὶ ἐξελογεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ νομίζουσιν, ἄπρακτον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄτολμον, οὐ μὲν ἅπασιν τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ πιθανόν· οὐ γάρ πώ τι αὐτῷ πολέμιον εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπέπρακτο, δέους ἄξιον. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς μέγα δυνάμειος αὐθις ἐπήρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπιφοβώτατος· στρατὸν γὰρ εἶχεν, ὃν τε ἐξάνεστησε Μουτίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον ἱππικόν, τρία τε αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσγεγέννητο τὰ Οὐεντιδίου, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ σύμμαχος ἐγίγνετο ἐπτά ἔχων ὀπλιτικὰ τέλη καὶ πολὺν ὄμιλον ἄλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. καὶ τοῖσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνομάζετο ἔτι, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἅπαντα διώκει.

85. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε εἰς Ῥώμην θαυμαστὴ καὶ αἰφνίδιος ἦν αὐθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως εἰς δέος,

Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis CHAP.
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 advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on some ostensible errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some convoys who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. He came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army now escorted him, demanding from Lepidus peace and compassion for their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them ungirt, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he actually fell on his knees before Antony, being an irresolute and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony which might cause him fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man, and most formidable to his enemies; for he had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry; Ventidius had joined him on the road with three legions, and Lepidus had become his ally with seven legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed everything.

They unite
their forces
and
Ventidius
joins
Antony

85. When these facts became known at Rome Consternation at
Rome
 another wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt

CAP. XVII τῶν δὲ ἐς θάρσος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων. αἱ τε προγραφαὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπῶντο σὺν ὕβρει, καὶ αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπέιχοντο ἔτι μᾶλλον· ἢ τε βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀποροῦσα, καὶ δεδιυῖα, μὴ συνθοῖντο ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμπε μὲν ἐς Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Λεύκιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐξιόντας, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ δύναιντο, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπὸ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε Κορνηφικίῳ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἐτέρας ἄρχοντι Λιβύης καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντι, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ τούσδε Γαίῳ Καίσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα ὑπονοοῦντες· ἢ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς ὧδε ἤπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδιότες μὴ συνθοῖτο Ἀντωνίῳ, στρατηγὸν αὐθις ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλα ἀπρεπῶς ἐχειροτόνουν ἅμα Δέκμῳ.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὀργὴν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς συνεχῶς ὑβρίζομενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν· ἐδίδασκέ τε πέμποντας αἰτεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγούς. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτα διδασκομένους, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔφη δι' ἐτέρων πρέσβεων. καὶ ἔπεμπον, οὓς ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεθεστηκόσιν ἐντυχεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἐχούσῃ μόνῃ,

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were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn down with derision, and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavian and Antony should form an alliance, secretly sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and favoured the senatorial party, although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Caesar, and although they suspected everything of his, but their embarrassment drove them to this, since they even appointed, awkwardly enough, Octavian as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony.

86. But Octavian excited the army to anger against the Senate both on account of its repeated indignities towards himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavian and said that they would make answer also by deputies. They sent these, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavian was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go

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Increasing
coolness
between
Octavian
and the
Senate

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χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἔνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα ἀπαντήσκειν. ταῦτ' ἐπισκῆψαντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἤδη τὸ ἡμισυ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν ἐχειροτόνου, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεῖν σφίσιν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι τοὺς λόγους καθίει δι' ἐτέρων οὐδὲ μέλλειν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν στρατὸν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθὼν, τά τε ὑβρίσματα, ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγέννητο, κατέλεξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν, καθ' ἓνα καθαιρουμένους, δεδιέναι τε αὐτοῖς περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένοις ἐς τε πολέμιον τῆς μοίρας στρατηγὸν καὶ πολέμους ἐτέρους ἀφ' ἐτέρων, ἵν' ἢ ἐκφθαρεῖεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάζειαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μόνοις δίδοσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν ἐμβάλοιν.

87. “Ἴστε δέ,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔναγχος ἠττήθη οἷά τε τοὺς Πομπηιανούς ἐπύθεσθε ἐν ἄστει πεποιηκέναι κατὰ τῶν τινὰς δωρεᾶς παρὰ Καίσαρος εἰληφότων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἢ ὑμῖν ὧν ἐλάβετε παρ' ἐκείνου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἢ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὧδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστευόντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι; καὶ γὰρ μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιγίγνηταί μοι (καλὸν γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικουροῦντα), ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑμῶν δέδια τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε, κινδυνεύοντων ἐς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. ἴστε μὲν δὴ με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὗ στρατηγεῖν

to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered this charge to the deputies they forwarded one-half of the donative and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did not add Octavian even as an eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavian, the deputies returned without effecting anything. Octavian no longer held communication with the troops through the medium of others, and no longer asked them to wait, but assembled the army and came before them and related to them the indignities he had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to destroy all the friends of Gaius Caesar, one by one: he admonished them also to beware against being transferred to a general opposed to their party and being sent to one war after another to be killed or set in opposition to each other. This, he said, was the reason why, after their common struggles at Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce strife and sedition among them.

87. "You know, too," he said, "the reason why Antony was lately vanquished. You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Caesar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety, while the relatives of the murderers thus dominate the Senate? For my part I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is honourable to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from

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CAP. ^{XII} μοι διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείοις οὐκ ἔδεχόμεν·
 ἐν δὲ μόνον ὁρῶ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτήριον, εἰ δι'
 ὑμῶν ὑπάτος ἀποδειχθείην. τά τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ
 πατρὸς ὑμῖν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται,
 ἀποικίαι τε προσέσονται αἱ ἔτι ὀφειλόμεναι, καὶ
 γέρα πάντα ἐντελῆ· ἐγὼ τε τοὺς φονέας ὑπὸ δίκην
 ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν ὑμῖν καταλύσαιμι
 πολέμους."

88. Ὡν λεγομένων ἥ τε στρατιὰ προθύμως
 ἐπεβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἔπεμπον
 αἰτήσοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης
 δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἃ
 ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κορουῖνός τε ἄρξειε
 νεώτερος ὢν ἔτι καὶ Σκιπίων ὕστερον, ὃ τε
 πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος
 ἐκάστου πολλὰ ὄναιτο ἢ πατρίς. τά τε ἔναγχος
 ταῦτα καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγνον αὐτοῖς καὶ Λολο-
 βέλλαν προύφερον, αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι ἤδη δεδόσθαι
 τὴν ἀρχὴν μετιέναι θάσσον ἐτῶν δέκα. ταῦτα
 τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλείονι παρρησίᾳ λεγόντων,
 οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγοὺς
 ὄντας ὧδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἐπέπλησσον ὡς θρα-
 συνομένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιώταις πρέπον. καὶ ὁ
 στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζοντο καὶ
 ἄγειν σφᾶς εὐθύς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς
 αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσοντες αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέτῳ χειροτονίᾳ,
 Καίσαρος υἱὸν ὄντα, πολλά τε τὸν πρότερον
 Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφήμεουν. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς

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ambition from the time when I declined the praetorship which you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us: if I should obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and I should bring the murderers to punishment and release you from any more wars."

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88. At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavian. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden times Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Caesar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age.¹ While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could not endure that centurions should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and raise Octavian to the consulship because he was Caesar's son. At the same time they extolled

Octavian
sends
soldiers
to the
Senate
to demand
the
Consulship

¹ This is erroneous. Caesar was first elected consul in the year 694 (B.C. 60), and entered upon the office at the beginning of 695, at which time he had just reached the legal age of forty-three.

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ὁρμῆς ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἦγεν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, ὁκτὼ τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἵππον ἱκανὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περάσας δὲ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὅν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέρασεν, εἰς δύο πάντας διήρει· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεςθαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὸ δὲ ἄμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐτρόχαζεν, ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι ἀπαρασκεύους καταλαβεῖν. μέρους τε τῶν χρημάτων ὑπαντῶντος, ἃ εἰς τὰ γέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡ βουλὴ πεπόμφει, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προύπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς ἐκφοβήσοντας· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων.

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89. Ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἄπλετος, διαθεόντων τε ἀκόσμως καὶ γυναῖά τινων ἢ παῖδας ἢ ὅσα τιμιώτατα ἄλλα εἰς ἀγροὺς ἢ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς πόλεως μεταφερόντων· οὐ γάρ πω σαφοὺς ὄντος, ὅτι μόνης ὀρέγοιτο ὑπατείας, πολέμιον στρατὸν ἐπιέναι σὺν ὀργῇ πυνθανόμενοι εἰς πάντα ἐδεδοίκεσαν. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἐτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους τε, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέμφοντο, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλουντο τὴν ἐπὶ

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the elder Caesar without stint. When Octavian saw them in this excited state, he led them directly from the assembly, eight legions of foot and a corresponding number of horse, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic province into Italy, —the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war,—he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely way. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made forced marches, hastening in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with a part of the money which the Senate had sent as a present to the soldiers, Octavian feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he secretly sent forward a force to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

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He marches
towards
Rome with
his army

XIII

89. WHEN the news of Octavian's approach reached the city there was immense confusion and alarm. People ran hither and thither, and some conveyed their wives and children and whatever they held most dear to the country and to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Having heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was struck with consternation since they had no military force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some complained that they had insolently deprived Octavian of the command of

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XIII

Alarm in
the city

Mutual
recrimina-
tions in
the Senate

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τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμβου ὑπεροψίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὄντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου τῆς διανεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον ἐπιγράψαντες· οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄθλα, οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε ἐντελῇ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφίσιν ἔλεγον ἐκπολεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέμφοντο, Βρούτου μὲν καὶ Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε ὄντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἔτι, ἐν δὲ πλευραῖς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Λεπίδου πολεμίων· οὓς ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν Καίσαρι συναλλαγῆσεσθαι, πάμπαν ἥκμαζεν ὁ φόβος. Κικέρων τε, ὃς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο.

90. Ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετὰθεσις, ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτῶ δοθῆναι, Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν διανέμειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν ἀπόντα. πρέσβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οἱ τὰδε φράσειν ἔμελλον αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν. ὦν ἄρτι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετάνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ, μὴ δεῖν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καταπεπληῆχθαι, μηδὲ ἑτέραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα ἀναιμωτί, μηδὲ ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένους ἐκ βίας τυγχάνειν, μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ὀπλισαμένους δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἐπιούσι προτείνειν· προσδοκᾶν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὅπλα τῇ

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the campaign against Antony, others that they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice; others because they had envied him the honour of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten: still others said that they had made the army hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavian, and thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long been in evidence, was nowhere to be seen.

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90. There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given; instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavian was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. They felt that they ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as best they could and confront the invaders with the laws, for there was some hope that, if they were confronted with the laws, not even they would bear arms against their country. If

Vacillating
counsels

CAP.
XIII

πατρίδι ἐποίσειν· εἰ δὲ φέροιεν, ἀνέχεσθαι τε πολιορκίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ἢ Πλάγκος ἔλθοι, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκόντας ἐνδέξασθαι δουλείαν ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον· τὰ τε ἀρχαῖα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ φρονήματα καὶ πάθη, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδόντων ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ἀνελέγοντο.

91. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκετο, τοὺς θεοὺς σφᾶς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐποτρύνειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο, καὶ μετεψηφίζετο ἅπαντα, Κικέρωνος αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντος· ἢ τε στρατεύσιμος ἡλικία προεγράφετο πᾶσα, καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τάδε, τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἱππῆες χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἕτεροι, ὃ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολελοίπει, πάντες οἷδε μερισθέντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευσαν, ἐφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπιδιηρημένων σφίσι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειεν ἡττωμένους φυγεῖν διὰ θαλάσσης. καὶ τάδε σὺν εὐθαρσείᾳ πράσσοντες οὕτως ὀξέως ἤλπιζον ἀντικαταπλήξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἢ μεταπείσειν παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰτεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖσθαι· τοὺς τε τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε μεταθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων, μέχρι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών. τὴν δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὔτε φανερώς οὔτε λάθρα ζητοῦντες εὗρισκον. ἐθορυ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

they should do so, it would be best to endure a CHAP. XIII siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thenceforth without remedy. They recounted the high spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of the Romans of old, who never yielded to anything when their liberty was at stake.

91. As both the legions sent for from Africa The Senate resolves to resist happened to arrive in the harbour on this very day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind,—all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the hill called the Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city praetors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbour, together with money, in case they should be vanquished and have to escape by sea. While courageously making these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavian in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves vigorously. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. They sought for the mother and sister of Octavian, but as they did not discover them either by any open or secret search, they were again alarmed

CAP. XIII. βούντο οὖν αὐθις ὁμήρων μεγάλων ἀφηρημένοι· καὶ τῶν Καισαριανῶν οὐπω σφίσιν ἐπικλωμένων, ὑπὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὰς ὧδε ἀκριβῶς ἐνόμιζον ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ ἔτι τῶν πρέσβεων ἐντυγχανόντων τὰ μετεψηφισμένα ἀγγέλλεται· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπολιπόντες ἀνέστρεφον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς. ὁ δὲ τῷ στρατῷ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρωξυμένῳ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει, σὺν φόβῳ μή τι πάθοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες· ἕς τε τὸν δῆμον τεθορυβημένου ἰππέας ἔπεμψεν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπικελεύων, καὶ τεθηπότων πάντων τὰ πέραν τοῦ Κυριναλίου λόφου κατέλαβεν, οὐδενὸς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἢ κωλύειν ὑποστάντος. ἦν τε αὐθις ἑτέρα θαυμάσιος ἄφνω μεταβολή, θεόντων ἐς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ προσαγορευόντων· ἔθει δὲ καὶ ὁ δημότης λεῶς καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπεδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τὸν στρατόν, ἔνθαπερ ἦν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐχώρει τῆς ἐπιούσης πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, φυλακὴν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱκανήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε ὑπήντων δι' ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέρη καὶ προσηγόρευον, οὐδὲν ἐνδέοντες ἢ φιλοφροσύνης ἢ θεραπείας ἀσθενοῦς. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἡσπάσαντο. καὶ τὰ τρία τέλη, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπεριδόντα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ μετετίθετο· καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ ἥρχον αὐτῶν, Κορνούτος μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐκτείνειν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σπονδῶν καὶ πίστεων ἔτυχον. Κικέρων τε τῶν σπονδῶν πυθόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντυχὼν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν εἰσήγησιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπῆρεν, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

at finding themselves deprived of such important CHAP.
hostages, and as the Caesarians showed no disposition XIII
to yield to them they concluded that it was by them
that these women were being carefully concealed.

92. While Octavian was still giving audience to
the messengers, it was announced to him that the
decrees had been rescinded. The messengers there-
upon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his
army still more exasperated Octavian hastened to Octavian
the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his arrives
mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in at the
city gates
a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance
to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed
he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill,
no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another
wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians
flocked out and saluted him; the common people
ran also and took the good order of the soldiers
for a sign of peace. On the following day Octavian
advanced toward the city, leaving his army where
it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard.
Here, again, detached crowds met him along the
whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing
that savoured of friendliness and weak compliance.
His mother and sister, who were in the temple
of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him.
The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent The new
ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. legions
One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, go over
killed himself; the others allied themselves with to him
Octavian. When Cicero learned of the truce he
sought an interview with Octavian through friends.
When it was granted he defended himself and
dwelt much upon his proposing Octavian for the

CAP. XIII τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

93. Νυκτὸς δ' ἄφνω δόξης γενομένης, ὅτι δύο τέλη Καίσαρος, τό τε Ἄρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, μεταθοῖτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλή πάνπαν ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπίστευσαν, καίπερ ὄντος ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρατοῦ νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξειν αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἀρίστοις πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρι τις ἐτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἰσχύς ἐπιγένοιτο, νυκτὸς ἔτι Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα ἐξέπεμπον στρατὸν ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν τινα δημάρχων Ἀπουλήιον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐποιοῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἥ τε βουλή νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεον, Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοὺς δεξιουμένου. ψεύδοὺς δὲ τῆς δόξης φανείσης ἐν φορείῳ διέφυγεν.

94. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐγγυτέρω τῆς πόλεως προήγαγεν, ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τότε μὲν οὐδένα ἡμύνατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς Πικὴν ἡν ἐκδραμόντα, καίπερ οἱ προσαχθέντα ὡς εἶχε ληφθεῖς ἐν σχήματι οἰκέτου, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἅπαντας ἐς δόξαν φιλανθρωπίας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προυγράφησαν. τὰ χρήματα δέ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰανούκλῳ ἢ ἐτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλα συνενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὅποσα Κικέρωνος ἐσηγουμένου πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο, διένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς

consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavian answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him. CHAP.
XIII

93. The next night a rumour gained currency that two of Octavian's legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, saying that they had been deceived and led against their country. The praetors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavian's army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter. Cicero
takes flight

94. Octavian laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the praetors, not even Crassus, who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave, but he pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and the amount which had been previously ordered to be paid to the army on the motion of Cicero, he distributed, namely 2500

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, μέχρι χειροτονησaiεν ὑπάτους αἰρετούς. αἰρεθεῖς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν ᾧ περ ἐβούλετο Κοῖντῳ Πεδίῳ, ὃς τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δεδώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐθις ὡς ὕπατος ἐσῆει, καὶ ἔθνε, δώδεκά οἱ γυπῶν φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζοντι ὀφθῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὐθις κατὰ νόμον κουριάτιον. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου γίγνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν· κουρίας γὰρ ἐς μέρη τὰς φυλὰς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἕλληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας. ἐπινομώτατος δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων· καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἴσα τοῖς γνησίοις παισὶν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους. Γαῖῳ δ' ἦν τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολλοί τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τόδ' ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένη, καὶ τῇσδε ἐδεήθη.

XIV

CAP. XIV 95. Νόμῳ δ' ἐτέρῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνου δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος γραφομένων τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγ-
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drachmas per man, and promised to give them the remainder. Then he took his departure from the city until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia. Having been elected himself, together with Quintus Pedius, the man whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Caesar, he entered the city again as consul. While he offered the sacrifices, twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*,—(it is possible to have adoption ratified by the people)—for the parts into which the tribes, or local divisions, are divided are called *curiae*, just as, I suppose, the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriae*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Caesar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavian wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Caesar's will.

CHAP.
XIII

Octavian
is elected
consul
with Pedius
as his
colleague

His
adoption
by Caesar is
ratified by
the people

XIV

95. OCTAVIAN caused a new law to be passed to repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also to punish the murder of Caesar. Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of

CHAP.
XIV

CAP.
XIV

νωκέναι μόνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη, καὶ τισιν οὐδ' ἐπιδημήσασιν, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκτείνετο. πᾶσι δ' ὀρισθείσης ὑπὸ κηρύγματι μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἅπαντες ἐάλωσαν, ἐφορῶντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσιν φέροντος πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὃς τότε μὲν οὐδ' αὐτός τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὃδε προυγράφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόιντος Γάλλιος, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Γαλλίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρχων, αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρατηγίαν τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ οὕτω τυχὼν ἐπιβουλευσαί τῳ Καίσαρι· καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν περιεῖλον οἱ σύναρχοι, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν διήρπασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἣ δὲ βουλὴ κατεγίνωσκε θάνατον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ νεὼς ἐπιβὰς οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι φανῆναι.

96. Τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις, πυνθανόμενος ἤδη τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον εἴκοσι συνῆχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ χρήζων ἐπ' αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐξήει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεξεύγννε, τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμένων. Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔπειθε τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους συνἀλλαγῇναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δὲ προεώρων μὲν ὅτι μὴ σφίσι μῆδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ' ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐπήνουν δ' ὅμως καὶ συνετίθεντο ὑπ'

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

Caesar bringing accusations against some for the act and others for guilty knowledge. This last charge was even brought against some who were not in the city when Caesar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default, Octavian presiding over the court, and none of the judges voting for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but a little later was included with the others in the proscription. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city praetor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavian for the command of Africa, and having thus got his chance, plotted against Octavian. His colleagues stripped him of his praetorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavian ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.

CHAP.
XIV
Indictment
and trial
of Caesar's
murderers

96. These things accomplished, Octavian formed his plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavian had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irremediable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. Although they foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavian against Brutus and Cassius, nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to

The Senate
rescinds its
decrees
against
Antony and
Lepidus

CAP.
XIV

ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς στρατῶν κατελύετο, εἰρηναῖα δὲ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς συνήδετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ Δέκμον ὑπισχνεῖτο ἥξειν, εἰ δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλοφρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφνω καὶ ἐπήνουν, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτίσσεσθαι Δέκμον τε ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος καὶ Πλάγκον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμίσξειν Καίσαρι.

97. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διώκοντι δὲ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Δέκμον προσγίγνεται Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκῳ μὲν Ἀσίνιος ἔπραξε διαλλαγάς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μεθίστατο εἰς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὥστε ἤδη βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως ἦρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. Δέκμῳ δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὧν τέσσερα μὲν τὰ ἐμπειροπολεμώτατα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει ἔτι, τὰ νεοστράτευτα δὲ ἦν ἕξ, ἀταλαίπωρα ἔτι καὶ πόνων ἄπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μάχεσθαι, φεύγειν ἔκρινε πρὸς Βροῦτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἔφευγε δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἀλλ' εἰς Ῥάβενναν ἢ Ἀκυληίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὤδενε ταύτην, ἄλλην μακροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον ἐπενόει, τὸν τε Ῥῆνον περᾶσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερελθεῖν· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστράτευτοι καταλιπόντες εἰς Καίσαρα ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τέσσερα εἰς Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἤδη χωρὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἱππέων Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέψας εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαδοὺς ἐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them, public enemies, were repealed, and others of a peaceful nature was sent to them. Thereupon Octavian wrote and congratulated them, and he promised to lend assistance to Antony against Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him. Antony wrote that he would himself punish Decimus on Caesar's account and Plancus on his own, and that then he would join forces with Octavian.

97. Such were the letters which they exchanged with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also brought about an arrangement with Plancus, by virtue of which Plancus passed over to Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions, of whom four, the most experienced in war, had suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled; while the other six were new levies, still untrained and unaccustomed to their labours, so, as he despaired of fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. He retreated not by this side of the Apennines, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. But since Octavian was travelling by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one—to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavian; after them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own

CHAP.
XIV

Flight of
Decimus
Brutus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XIV τοῦ παρόντος ἔτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τριακοσίων τῶν παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐφέρετο. δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περᾶν σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἀπελείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶνδε πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἤλλαξε δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐς τὸ Κελτικόν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ἄμα καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἷά τις Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἔτι περιών, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ἀκυληίας, λήσεσθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

98. Ἀλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἤρετο μὲν ὅτου Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἴη, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι Καμίλου, πολλὰ πεποιηκῶς εὖ τὸν Κάμιλον, ἄγειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀχθέντα ἰδὼν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερόν καὶ τοῖς δήσασιν ἐπεμέμφετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυβρίσασιν ἀνδρὶ τοσῶδε, κρύφα δ' ἐπέστελλεν Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος τι παθὼν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τῷ Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψαι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παροῦσι θάψαι. τοῦτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἱππάρχῃ τε Καίσαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξαντι τῆς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

homes, and, after distributing among them the gold he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with 300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by these also except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.¹

98. Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camilus, a man to whom he had done many favours; so he told them to bring him to Camilus. When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance; but secretly he sent word to Antony. Antony was somewhat touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camilus to kill him and send his head to himself. When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Caesar's praefect of horse and had governed Narbonensian Gaul under him and had been designated by him for the consul-

CHAP.
XIV

He is
captured
and put
death

¹ Appian's geography is much in need of amendment. It is impossible to trace the route taken by Decimus from this description.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV. ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεχειροτονημένῳ καὶ τῆς
 ἐτέρας Κελτικῆς ἄρχειν. καὶ δεύτερος τῶν
 σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίῳ δίκην ἐδίδου μετ'
 ἐνιαυτόν που καὶ ἡμισυ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως. τῷ δ'
 αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλος, σφαγεὺς
 καὶ ὁδε Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνηρέθη,
 εὐνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK III

ship the coming year and for the governorship of the CHAP.
other Gaul. He was the next of the murderers XIV
after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year
and a half of the assassination. About the same time
Minucius Basilus, another of Caesar's murderers, was
killed by his slaves, some of whom he was mutilating
by way of punishment.

BOOK IV

Δ'

I

CAP. I. 1. Δύο μὲν δὴ Γαίτου Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὕτω δίκην, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν στρατηγίαις ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, Τρεβώνιος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκμος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ· ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βρούτος, οἳ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἤρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτουν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἀπάσης, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς πολὺς, ἵππικὸς τε καὶ ναυτικὸς καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆες ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήματα, ἢ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἥδε ὑποδείκνυσιν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐγίγνωnton αἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφέντων ἔρευναί τε καὶ εὐρέσεις καὶ παθήματα πάμπαν ἐπαχθῇ, οἷα οὔτε ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμοις οὔτ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνου Σύλλα τοῦ πρώτου τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς θάνατον προγράφαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐζήτει καὶ ἐκόλαζεν, οὓς εὖροι· Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυψάντων ὁμοίαις τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν προέγραφεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προείρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο.

BOOK IV

I

1. THUS was punishment visited upon two of CHAP
Caesar's murderers, who were conquered in their I
own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Outline of
Brutus in Gaul. How vengeance overtook Cassius this Book
and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders
in the conspiracy against Caesar, and who controlled
the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large
forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty
legions of infantry, together with ships and money,
this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During
the progress of these events came the pursuit and
capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings
consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be
recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the
Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only
in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his
enemies on a proscription list. For Marius searched
for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla
proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill
the proscribed and severe punishment to those who
should conceal them. But what took place in the
time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated
in the history relating to them. The sequel to my
previous book is as follows.

CAP. 2. Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ' ἑχθρας συνήεσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν, ἐς νησίδα τοῦ Λαβινίου ποταμοῦ βραχεῖάν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἐκάτερος ὀπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε· καὶ τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθιστάντες ἐχώρουν σὺν τριακοσίοις ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν διηρεῦνα τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι κατέσειεν ἥκειν ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολιπόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἦεσαν ἐν περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδρευον οἱ τρεῖς, Καῖσαρος ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἡμέραις ἔωθεν ἐς ἐσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἔκριναν· ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Οὐεντίδιον αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους μεταλαβεῖν, καινὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἣν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἴσον ἰσχύουσιν ὑπάτοις· ὧδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δόγμα ἴσως τὸ Ἀντωνίου κωλύον ἔτι γίνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτήσια ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν νειμαμένους, ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅπασαν ἄνευ τῆς συναφοῦς τοῖς Πυρρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ἣν παλαιὰν ἐκάλουν Κελτικὴν· ταύτης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ· Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναι Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

3. Ὡδε μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τὰ πέραν ἄρα τοῦ Ἰονίου μόνα ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

2. Octavian and Antony composed their differences on a small, depressed islet in the river Lavinius, near the city of Mutina. Each had five legions of soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges over the river. Lepidus by himself went before them, searched the island, and waved his military cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges and advanced to the middle of the island in plain sight, and there the three sat together in council, Octavian in the centre because he was consul. They were in conference from morning till night for two days, and came to these decisions: that Octavian should resign the consulship and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year; that a new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian should hold for five years with consular power (for this name seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for the five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was called Old Gaul; this, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus; while Octavian was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity thereof.

3. Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among themselves. Only the assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic was

CHAP.
I
Reconciliation of
Octavian
and Antony,
who are
joined by
Lepidus

Their
mutual
understand
ing

CAP. I κρατοῦντας ἔτι αὐτῶν, Κασσίω δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολεμεῖν Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα. Λέπιδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπομένειν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰβηρίας δι' ἐτέρων· τοῦ δὲ Λεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτὸν Λέπιδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἑπτὰ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καίσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὥς ἂν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος εἴκοσιν ἄγοι. ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου, ἄλλαις τε δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεις τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἱ καὶ περιουσίαι καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῷ διανεμήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γενόμεναι. καὶ ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανέσταται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπύη καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Οὐενουσία καὶ Βενεβεντὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἰππώνιον. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ στρατῷ διέγραφον, ἔδοξε δὲ σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς τάδε καθισταμένοις καὶ πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον ἔκδημον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥς ὑπάτος ἀνέγνω τοῖς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανουμένων. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπαιώνισάν τε καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

4. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερὰ ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὠρύοντο ὁμαλῶς οἷα λύκοι, σύμβολον ἀηδές, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διέθεον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

postponed, since these were still under the control of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavian were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in the city to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his legions to guard the city, and to divide the other seven between Octavian and Antony, three to the former and four to the latter, so that each of them might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage the army with expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies—cities which excelled in wealth, in the splendour of their estates and houses, and which were to be divided among them (land, buildings, and all), just as though they had been captured from an enemy in war. The most renowned among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Thus were the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter should not interfere with their arrangements while they were carrying on war abroad. Having come to these decisions, they reduced them to writing, and Octavian as consul communicated them to the soldiers, all except the list of proscriptions. When the soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced each other in token of mutual reconciliation.

4. While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled continuously like wolves—a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum—an animal unused to the city. Cattle uttered a

CHAP.
I

Fearful
prodigies
at Rome

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ¹ πόλει ζῶον, βούς τε φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγγατο, καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ μὲν ἴδρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἴδρου, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγά-
λαι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὀρωμένων ἠκούετο. ἀμφί τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδῇ σημεῖα πολλά, καὶ λιθῶδεις ἐγίγνοντο ὑετοί, καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔπιπτον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θύτας καὶ μάντεις συνῆγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν, τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπών, καὶ δουλεύσειν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὸ στόμα κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἕως ἀπέθανεν.

II

CAP. ^{II} 5. Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀποθανουμένους συνέγραφον, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες, οἰκείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ φίλους ἐς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὕστερον. προσκατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἕτεροι μεθ' ἑτέρους, οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἐχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνου προσκρούματος ἢ φιλίας ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων ἐχθρας ἢ πλούτου δια-
φέροντος. ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων πολλῶν, Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας φόρων δεδομένων τε καὶ προσοδογενομένων ἔτι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας πολέμοις τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς τετρυμένῃς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat CHAP. I
issued from statues; some even sweated blood.
Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing
of arms and the tramp of horses where none could
be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around
the sun, there were showers of stones, and con-
tinuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and
images; and in consequence of these things the
Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria.
The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of
former times was coming back, and that they would
all be slaves except only himself, whereupon he
closed his mouth and held his breath till he was
dead.

II

5. As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves CHAP. II
they joined in making a list of those who were to
be put to death. They put on the list those whom
they suspected because of their power, and also their Proscription
decreed
by the
triumvirs
personal enemies, and they exchanged their own
relatives and friends with each other for death, both
then and later. For they made additions to the
catalogue from time to time, in some cases on the
ground of enmity, in others for a grudge merely,
or because the victims were friends of their enemies
or enemies of their friends, or on account of their
wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of
money to carry on the war, since the revenue from
Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were
still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were
contributing. So the triumvirs were short of money
because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted

CAP. II. ἀποροῦντες· δι' ἃ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφορὰς βαρυτάτας, καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόησαν. ἤδη δέ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἐπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε καὶ δημεύσεως κατεγνωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἐς δισχιλίους. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ θεῖοι τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνων, ὅσοι τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκεσαν.

6. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου διελθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην προγράψειν ἔμελλον, δυνάδεκα δὲ ἄνδρας, ἢ, ὥς ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προανελεῖν ἐπιπέμψαντας ἄφνω. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν τέσσαρες αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν ἐστίασεσί τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεσι· ζητουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐρευνωμένων νεῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, ἄφνω θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὥς ἐν ἀλισκομένῃ πόλει. τῷ γὰρ ἐγνώσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ μηδένα τῶν προκατεγνωσμένων, πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἡγείτο ζητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν περιθεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἴδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαί τι δεινὸν ἀλόγως αἰρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπατος μετὰ κηρύκων περιθέων ἐπήλπιζε περιμείναντας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

by wars and exactions ; for which reason they levied very heavy contributions from the plebeians and finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. By now, too, some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the officers serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-officers.

6. As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets ; and when search was made for the others in temples and houses, there was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men were being seized and massacred, although there was no list of those who had been previously sentenced, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. Thus in despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of choosing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them ; and they would perhaps have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight

CHAP.
II

First
massacre

CAP. II. ἐς ἑω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἑω παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν προύγραφεν ὁ Πέδιος τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα ὡς μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν καὶ μόνους κατεγνωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο, ἀγνοῶν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

Καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, 7. ἐσῆεσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀνὰ μέρος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος, σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι τάξεσι καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἕκαστος ἐνὶ τέλει. ὡς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλήρης ὀπλων τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἤγετο ἐκκλησία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομοθέτει καινὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἐς πενταετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καῖσαρος, ἴσον ἰσχύουσιν ὑπάτοις, (ἦν ἂν τις Ἑλλήνων ἀρμοστὰς ὀνομάσειεν, ὃ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ἄρτι καθισταμένοις τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐτίθεντο ὄνομα,) οὔτε διαστήματος ἐς δοκιμασίαν οὔτε κυρίας ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας προτεθείσης· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἐκυροῦτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑπτακαίδεκα, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν προγραφαὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως προυτίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. καὶ τις προσετίθετο τοῖς πίναξιν αἰεὶ τῶν προσκαταγινωσκομένων ἢ τῶν προανηρημένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως ἀνηρῆσθαι. διετέτακτό τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and get more accurate information. When morning came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as being deemed the sole authors of the civil strife and the only ones condemned. To the rest he pledged the public faith, being ignorant of the determinations of the triumvirs.

Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the following night, 7. and the triumvirs entered the city separately on three successive days, Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, each with his praetorian cohort and one legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled with arms and military standards, disposed in the most advantageous places. A public assembly was forthwith convened in the midst of these armed men, and a tribune, Publius Titius, proposed a law providing for a new magistracy for settling the present disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian, with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks these would be called harmosts, which is the name the Lacedaemonians gave to those whom they appointed over their subject states.) No time was given for scrutiny of this measure, nor was a fixed day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed forthwith. That same night, the proscription of 130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed in various parts of the city, and a little later 150 more, and additions to the lists were constantly made of those who were condemned later or previously killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all the victims should be brought to the triumvirs at a fixed reward, which to a free person was payable in

CHAP.
II

The
triumvirs
enter the
city

CAP.
II. ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ῥητῷ κέρδει φέρεσθαι· καὶ ἦν τὸ κέρδος ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, θεράποντι δὲ ἐλευθερία τε καὶ ἀργύριον. παρέχειν δὲ ἐς ἔρευναν πάντα τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον ἢ κρύψαντα ἢ τὴν ἔρευναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἴσοις ἐνέχεσθαι. μνηύειν δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις κέρδεσι.

8. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφή· “Μάρκος Λέπιδος, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάουιος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινά, οὕτως λέγουσιν· εἰ μὴ δι’ ἀπιστίαν οἱ πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐλεεινοί, τυχόντες δὲ ἐγίγνοντο τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐχθροί, εἴτα ἐπίβουλοι, οὗτ’ ἂν Γάιον Καῖσαρα ἀνηρήκεσαν, οὓς ἐκείνος δορὶ λαβὼν ἔσωσεν ἐλέφ καὶ φίλους θέμενος ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς προήγαγεν ἀθρόως, οὗτ’ ἂν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐνυβρίσασι καὶ πολεμίους ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε ἀθρόως ἠναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλευμέθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσειτον ὁρῶντες τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ παθεῖν αἰρούμεθα. μὴ δὴ τις τὸ ἔργον ἄδικον ἢ ὠμὸν ἢ ἄμετρον ἠγείσθω, ἔς τε Γάιον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς οἷα πεπόνθαμεν ὁρῶν. Γάιον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ φοβερώτατα Ῥωμαίοις καθελόντα τε ἔθνη καὶ κτησάμενον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ὄρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντα,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

money and to a slave in both money and freedom. CHAP. II
All were required to afford opportunity for searching their houses. Those who received fugitives, or concealed them, or refused to allow search to be made, were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed, and those who informed against concealers were allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the proscribed].

8. The proscription was in the following words: Text of the proscription
“ Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious traitors begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Caesar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honours, and gifts ; nor should we have been compelled to use this wide-spread severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those who have conspired against us and by whose hands Gaius Caesar suffered, cannot be mollified by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Caesar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Caesar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the

CAP. II. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν ἄγνωστον εὐρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ ὄψεσι θεῶν, κατέκανον εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαῖς ἐνυβρίσαντες, οἱ πολέμῳ ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ περισπέντες κληρονόμοι τέ τινες αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἐγγραφέντες εἶναι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μύσει τῷδε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐξέπεμψαν, αἷς ἐκεῖνοι χρώμενοι τά τε κοινὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἥρπασαν, καὶ στρατὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγείρουσι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἕτερον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ βαρβάρων αἰεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμίων, τὰς τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις τὰς μὲν οὐ πείθοντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ κατέσκαψαν ἢ κατήρειψαν, τὰς δὲ καταπλήξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ' ἡμῶν.

9. “Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβάνοντος αὐτίκα δίκην διδόντας ὄψεσθε. τῶν δὲ μεγίστων ἡμῖν ἡνυσμένων καὶ ὑπὸ χερσὶν ὄντων, Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ Κελτικῆς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἴκοι, ἓν ἔστι λοιπὸν ἔτι ἔργον, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτόχειρας Γαίῳ. μέλλουσι δὴ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκδημον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ὀπίσω καταλιπεῖν, ἐπιβησομένους ταῖς ἀπουσίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῦ πολέμου καιροφυλακήσοντας, οὐδ' αὖ βραδύνειν διὰ τούσδε ἐν ἐπείξει τοσῆδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκποδῶν αὐτοὺς ἀθρόως ποιήσασθαι, ἄρξαντάς γε τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, ὅτε πολεμίους ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῖν στρατοὺς ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι.

10. “Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοσάσδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Romans, this man was slain in the midst of the CHAP. senate-house, which is designated as sacred, under II the eyes of the gods, with twenty-three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, while some of them he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money, with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reinforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms against the country and against us.

9. "Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall presently see the rest punished. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well under control, namely the settlement of Spain and Gaul as well as matters here in Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Caesar's assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war; nor again do we think that there should be delay on their account, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that they began the war against us when they voted us and the armies under us public enemies.

10. "What vast numbers of citizens have they, on

CAP.
II. ἡμῖν συναπώλλυνον, οὔτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὔτε φθόνον ἀνθρώπων ὑφορώμενοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ πλήθει μὲν οὔδενι χαλεπανοῦμεν οὔδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιλεξόμεθα πάντα, ὅσοι διηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν, οὔδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἢ περιουσίας ἢ ἀξιώσεως οὔδ' ὅσους ἕτερος πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἔκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καθιστάμενος, ὃν Εὐτυχῇ προσείπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν, καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὔσης τρισὶ πλέονας ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἐνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τε καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμυνούμεθα. καὶ τότε δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἦσσαν ἡμῶν· ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν διαφερομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεινὰ πᾶσχειν, ἀνάγκη δέ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι παραμύθιον ὑβρισμένῳ τε καὶ παρωξυμμένῳ καὶ πολεμῷ πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ. δυνηθέντες δ' αὖν, οὓς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλαβεῖν, αἰρούμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι συλλαβεῖν· καὶ τότε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἢ διωργισμένοις πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηριθμημένους καὶ ὠρισμένους ἔχοντες ὀνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀπέχονται.

11. “Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοίνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων τῷδε τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδένα μηδὲ κρυπτέτω μηδὲ ἐκπεμπέτω ποι μηδὲ πειθέσθω χρήμασι. ὃς δ' αὖν ἢ σώσας ἢ ἐπικουρήσας ἢ συνειδὼς φανῇ, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς, οὔδεμίαν ὑπολογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἢ συγγνώμην, ἐν τοῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

their part, doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished for their riches merely, their abundance, or their high position; nor shall we slay as many as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate on account of his success; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers, and it is necessary for us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomsoever we had determined on, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders against persons not responsible, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order.

CHAP.
II

11. "So be it then!"¹ Let no one harbour any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing

¹ A pious formula like the Latin *quod felix faustumque sit*.

CAP. II. προγεγραμμένοις τιθέμεθα. ἀναφερόντων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος ἐπὶ δισμυρίαῖς δραχμαῖς Ἀττικάῖς καὶ πεντακισχιλίαῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαῖς Ἀττικάῖς καὶ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου πολιτείᾳ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς μνηύουσιν ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς ἐγγεγράφεται τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ κατάδηλος ᾖ". ὧδε μὲν εἶχεν ἡ προγραφὴ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ Λατίνης μεταβαλεῖν.

III

CAP. III. 12. Πρῶτος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφουσι Λέπιδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Λεπίδου Παῦλος, καὶ δεύτερος ἦν τῶν προγραφόντων Ἀντώνιος καὶ δεύτερος τῶν προγραφομένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος, οἶδε μὲν, ὅτι πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο. τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ πίνακι προκειμένων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πλώτιος, Ἀσινίου δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κοῖντιος. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἄρα μόνην οἶδε τῶν ἄλλων προύκειντο μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς θάμβος καὶ δυσελπιστίαν, μηδένα ῥύσεσθαί τινα προσδοκᾶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Θωράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τινων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι Καίσαρος. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἱ τε πύλαι κατεείχοντο καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἑξοδοί τε καὶ λιμένες ἢ ἔλη καὶ τέλματα ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς φυγὴν ὑποπτον ἦν ἢ ἐς λαθραίους καταφυγὰς· τὴν τε χώραν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

any excuse or pardon. Let those who kill the pro-
scribed bring us their heads and receive the follow-
ing rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas
per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic
drachmas and his master's right of citizenship.
Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order
that they may remain unknown the names of those
who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our
registers." Such was the language of the proscription
of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered
from Latin into Greek.

III

12. LEPIDUS was the first to begin the work of
proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on
the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and
the second name on the list was that of his uncle,
Lucius Caesar. These two men had been the first
to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The
third and fourth victims were relatives of the
consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius,
the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-
in-law of Asinius. These four were placed at the
head of the list, not only on account of their
dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that
none of the proscribed might hope to escape.
Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said
by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When
the lists were published, the gates and all the other
exits from the city, the harbour, the marshes, the
pools, and every other place that was suspected as
adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by
soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the

CHAP.
II

CHAP.
III
The
triumvirs
proscribe
their own
relatives

CAP. III. ἐπετέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐγίγνετο πάντα ὁμοῦ.

13. Εὐθύς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἕκαστός πη συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν φυγαί τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐς φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθηντο μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἥσσον τῶν σφαγέων οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας οὐκ εὐμενῶς σφίσιν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθέρους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμία τῶν χωρίων. ἐπανάστασις γὰρ δὴ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ὑπουλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιστος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσδε τὰς ἀρχὰς μετιόντων ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐς πόδας ἰδίου θεράποντος ῥιπτουμένων σὺν ὀλοφύρσεσι καὶ σωτήρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἴκτιστον δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἐλεηθεῖεν.

14. Ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὥς ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμου καταλήψουσιν· οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἢ πολέμιον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγέων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδιότας, σφίσιν δὲ αὐτίκα γιγνομένους ἐξ οἰκείων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

surrounding country. All these things took place CHAP. III simultaneously.

13. Straightway, throughout city and country, Terrible panic in the city wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown, and undignified flights in disguises which strangely contrasted with former splendour. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thickly-packed tiles of their roofs. For some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers, while others feared their freedmen and their slaves; creditors feared their debtors and neighbours feared neighbours who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, praetors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of saviour and master. But the most lamentable thing was that even after this humiliation they did not obtain pity.

14. Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in Domestic servants as informers and assassins ordinary sedition or military occupation: for in those cases the people had to fear only the members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, but could rely on their own households; but now they were more afraid of these than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either

CAP.
III

πολεμίους, ἢ δι' ὑπουλον ἔχθραν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον. ἄπιστος γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόως ἕκαστος ἐς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέου προουτίθει· ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἢ εὖνους ἐδεδίδει βοηθεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἢ συνειδέναί δι' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἐς τε τὸ ἔμπαλιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἐπτακαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ τινων ἄφνω συλλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὅμοια καὶ συνήσπιζον ἀλλήλοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἔκδοτοι γεγέννητο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐκυνηγέτουν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναιρουμένων διήρπαζον, καὶ τὸ κέρδος αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγῶγει· οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροί τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἐτεθήπεσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς παραλογώτερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθεῖεν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοιαι, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἀρχόντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τοιαύδε ἐργάζεται.

15. Ἐθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιρουῦντας, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ὥς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἀδικούμενοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λιμῷ τε ἐκουσίῳ δαπανῶντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἢ ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἢ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἢ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain CHAP.
published rewards, or to possess themselves of the III
gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these reasons each one became treacherous to his master, preferring his own gain to compassion for him, and those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other; but in the proscriptions some immediately became the prey of all, others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became blood-hounds for the murderers for the sake of the rewards; while of the general throng, some plundered houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards.

15. Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they

*Scenes of
agony and
horror*

CAP. III. ὑπίσχοντες ἢ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας, ἕτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς ἢ διωθόμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὠνούμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἢ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δῆλος ἦν ὁ μὴ προγραφεῖς νέκυσ, ὅτε οἱ προσκέοιτο ἡ κεφαλὴ· τῶν γὰρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτίθεντο παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν, ἔνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας ἀντιλαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ. ἴση δ' ἦν ἐτέρων σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων, περισφζόντων τε καὶ συμμηχανωμένων πολλὰ καὶ συναποθνησκόντων, ὅτε μὴ τύχοιεν ὧν ἐπενόουν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανήρουν σφᾶς ἀνηρημένοις. τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπὶ τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτως ὁ καιρὸς ἦν ἐκείνος ἐπίδειξις παραδοξολογίας.

16. Καὶ τάδε ἐγένετο οὐκ ἐν ιδιώτιδι πόλει οὐδὲ ἐν ἀσθενεῖ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δυνατωτάτην καὶ τοσούτων ἔθνῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἡγεμονίδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄρα ἐς τὴν νῦν καθιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τοιάδε ἕτερα ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ τε Σύλλαν καὶ ἔτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον Μάριον, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ γνωριμώτατα τῶν κακῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσῆν ἐκείνοις ἀταξία· ταῦτα δὲ ἀξιῶσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or tried to thrust aside the danger, or to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others — of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honours of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford.

16. These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the evil deity thus shook the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about after a long period of time the present well ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Caius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remarkable by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially the character

CHAP
III

Some
remarkable
cases

CAP.
III. συστησαμένου τε ἐς ἔδραν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἄρχον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπόντος, ἐπιφανέστερα. ὦν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χεῖρω γενόμενα ἐν μνήμῃ τε μᾶλλον ὄντα, ὅτι καὶ τελευταῖα γέγονεν, ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα (οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἀπλῇ καὶ φυγῇ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισι συγγνόντων ὕστερον ἐπάνοδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανῆς καταβίωσις), ἀλλ' ὅσα παραλογώτατα ὄντα μάλιστα ἂν ἐκπλήξειε καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσειε τοῖς προλεγομένοις. πολλὰ δέ ἐστι, καὶ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· ὀλίγα δὲ ἐγὼ καθ' ἐκάστην ιδέαν, ἐς πίστιν ἐκάστης καὶ ἐς εὐδαιμόνισμα τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

IV

CAP.
IV. 17. Ἦρξατο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔτι ὄντων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνηρέθη δημαρχῶν Σάλουιος. ἱερὰ δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἄσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἴσχυεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἦν ὅδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκῶς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὕστερον δὲ συμπεπραχῶς ἐς πάντα Κικέρωνι. πυθόμενος δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπέιξεως τοὺς οἰκείους εἰστία ὡς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and good fortune of one of them, who established the government on a firm foundation, and left his lineage and the name which is now supreme after him. I shall now go over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the better to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are most calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in many books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time.

IV

17. THE massacre began, as it happened, among those who were still in office, and the first one slain was the tribune Salvius. His office was, according to the laws, sacred and inviolable, endowed with the greatest powers, so that tribunes have even imprisoned consuls. Salvius, too, was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had co-operated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his

CHAP.
III

CHAP.
IV

The tribune
Salvius
slain at
a banquet

CAP. IV. οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσόμενος· ἐσδραμόντων δὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξανίσταντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἡρεμεῖν κατακλιθέντας, τὸν δὲ Σάλουιον, ὡς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρηζε, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον αὐθις ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὡς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθοιεν ὅμοια. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἰχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθηπότες ἄναυδοι μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτός, τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκειντο. δεύτερος δ' ἀνὴρ ἔθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρεσιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ· πυθόμενος δὲ ἐπιέναι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἔτι καὶ ἐννοούμενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνήλλασσεν ἔς τι τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐσδραμών, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπέμψας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ ἐλέφ παραμένοντες εὐμαρέστερον ἄκοντες ἐποίησαν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐρεῖν.

18. Ἀννᾶλιν ἕτερον στρατηγόν, τῷ παιδὶ μετιόντι ταμιεῖαν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιομένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἳ τε συνόντες φίλοι καὶ οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον, πυθόμενοι προσγεγράφθαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἀννᾶλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἑαυτοῦ τινα φυγών, ᾧ βραχὺ καὶ εὐτελὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείῳ καὶ διὰ πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς, μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς τὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπήσας, ὠδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

friends, believing that he should not have many CHAP. IV. more opportunities for doing so. Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on, some of the guests started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the guests to stay where they were and make no disturbance, unless they wished to suffer a like fate. So they remained even after the centurion's departure, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent watches of the night, reclining by the tribune's headless body. The second one slain was the praetor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum. Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he leapt up, and while he was still running about looking for a hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted into a shop, sending away his attendants and the insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus unintentionally made the discovery of the praetor more easy to his slayers.

18. Annalis, another praetor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quaestorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied Annalis, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The

Annalis and
Thuranius
betrayed by
their sons

CAP. IV καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομίαν ἤρέθη. ἀναλύοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιῶταί τι προσκρούσαντες ἔκτειναν, οἳ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνῆρθέσαν.

Θουράνιος δὲ οὐ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐστρατηγηκώς, πατήρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστου, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἡξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔστε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσαιο παρ' Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δ' ἐπιγελάσαντες “ἤτησεν,” εἶπον, “ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα.” καὶ συνεῖς ὁ πρεσβύτης ἕτερου αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ἦται διάστημα, μέχρις οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρῶων, μὴ κακείνην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αἰτήσαιο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῷδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχρὰ δαπανῆσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἀλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

19. Κικέρων δέ, ὃς μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἴσχυσεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγοῦ μοναρχία, κατέγνωστο μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις· φυγῶν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον, ἀμφὶ Καιήτην πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καταχθεὶς ἡρέμει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνωμένων (τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμότατα πάντων Ἀντωνίος τε ἐζήτει καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες) ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπτάντες ἔκλαζον, ἐπεγείροντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the aedileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father.

CHAP.
IV

Thuranius, who was not then praetor but had been, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened that this man too, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, in the end was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment.

19. Cicero, who had held supreme power after Caesar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the sea-sickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta, a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), ravens flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his

Flight and
pursuit of
Cicero

CAP. IV. καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως οἱ
θεράποντες, σημενόμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι
σύμβολον ἕκ του θεῶν, ἐς φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν
Κικέρωνα αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἤγον διὰ
λόχμης βαθείας λαιθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ
μέρη διαθεόντων τε καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ που
Κικέρων ὀραθείη, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ καὶ
ἐλέῳ πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἤδη,
σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ
Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνα τῷ λοχαγῷ
σὺν ὀλίγοις ὄντι τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἔδειξεν. ὁ δὲ
ἐπέδραμέ τε καὶ θεράποντας ἰδὼν πολὺ πλείους
τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὀρμώντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατη-
γικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν. “ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ
χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐρανὸν λοχαγοί.”

Τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὡς ἐλευσομένων
πλεόνων κατεπλήγησαν, 20. ὁ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ
δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε κατωρθωκώς,
ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπάσας ἀπέ-
τεμεν, ἐς τρεῖς ἐπιπλήσσω καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζω ὑπὸ
ἀπειρίας· ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἣ τοὺς κατὰ
Ἀντωνίου λόγους οἷα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐς
μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλιππικῶν ἐπέγρα-
φεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν,
αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες· καὶ
ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν
καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς. ὁ δὲ
ἦσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε
καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ
εἴκοσι μυριάσιν Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγισ-
τον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμιώτατόν οἱ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

bed-covering, until his servants, divining that this was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by good-will and pity, said that he had already put to sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the path to Laena, the centurion, who was pursuing with a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing slaves mustering for the defence in much larger number than the force under his own command, he called out by way of stratagem, "Centurions in the rear, to the front!"

Thereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers were coming, were terror-stricken, and Laena, although he had been once saved by Cicero when under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by reason of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against Antony as a tyrant, which he had entitled *Philippics* in imitation of those of Demosthenes. When some of the soldiers hastened on horseback and others on shipboard to convey the good news quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front of the tribunal in the forum when Laena, a long distance off, shewed him the head and hand by lifting them up and shaking them. Antony was delighted beyond measure. He crowned the centurion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy.

CHAP.
IV

He is
cruelly
killed

CAP.
IV γεγόμενον ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βήματος ἀπεκρέμαντο ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημηγόρει· καὶ πλείους ὀψόμενοι συνέθεον ἢ ἀκροώμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης, μέχρι κόρον ἔσχε τῆς θέας τοῦ κακοῦ.

ᾧδε μὲν δὴ Κικέρων, ἐπὶ τε λόγοις ἀοίδιμος ἐς ἔτι νῦν ἀνὴρ, καὶ ὅτε ἦρχε τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγρονῶς χρήσιμος, ἀνῆρητο καὶ ἀνηρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐς Βρούτον. Κόιντος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἅμα τῷ παῖδι καταληφθεὶς ἐδεῖτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτήσιν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἕτερον ἕτεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνείλον ὁμοῦ.

21. Ἐγνάτιοι δέ, πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, συμφυέντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανον· καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέτμητο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συνεπέπλεκτο. Βάλβος τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα μὴ βαδίζοντες ὁμοῦ φανεροὶ γένοιοντο, προὔπεμψεν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εἶπετο ἐκ διαστήματος. ἔξαγγείλαντος δέ τινος, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, τὸν υἱὸν συνειλήφθαι, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας μετεπέμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπολέσθαι ναυαγίῳ· οὕτω ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρρύντιος τὸν υἱόν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἔπεισεν ὥς νέον περισώζειν ἑαυτόν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight.

CHAP.
IV
His head
and hand
suspended
from the
rostra

Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time at a given signal.

21. The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by one blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies was still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mistake, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did evil destiny increase the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to

The
Egnatii,
Balbus, and
Aruntius

CAP. IV καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προύπεμψε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνηρημένον τὸν ἄνδρα θάψει· πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διεφθάρθαι λιμῶ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτήν.

Αἶδε μὲν δὴ παίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔστων εἰκόνες· 22. ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὁμοῦ προγραφέντες, οἷς ὄνομα ἦν Λιγάριοι, ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ ἱπνῶ, μέχρι τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνευρόντων ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνηρέθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγών, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω διεφθαρμένον, ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀλιέων περισχόντων ὥς οὐκ ἐναλάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτωκότα, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἐφιλονίκει καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἐώθει, ἡσώμενος δὲ τῶν ἀλιέων περιγίγνετο καὶ “οὐκ ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “περισώζετε, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυτε.” οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸν οἰκτείραντες περιέσωζον, μέχρι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ τὴν γέφυραν ἐτήρουν, ἰδόντες ἐπέδραμόν τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἐτέρων δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος, καὶ θεράπῳ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεζήτει μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας, εὐρὼν δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεσθαι δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ ἄθλον ἀπέκοψε· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν κοπρῶνι κρυπτόμενον ἕτερος ἐμήνυσε θεράπῳ, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελθεῖν μὲν ἀπηξίωσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντούντες ἐξήγαγον καί, ὥς εἶχε, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονίψαντες ἀπέκοψαν. ἕτερος δέ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου, προσδραμὼν ἀγνοία τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ἐκείνῳ προγεγράφθαι, “ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “κτείνετε πρὸ τούτου.”

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

seek his safety because he was young. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death.

Let these serve as examples of sons good and bad. 22. As for brothers, two of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled; when he learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from the bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He stoutly resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again; but when he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed "You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed." Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two other brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out, and then cut off his head, just as he was, without even washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, "Kill me

CHAP.
IV

The two
Ligarii

CAP. IV. καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνάγραφτον,
 “εἰκότα ἀξιοῖς,” ἔφη· “σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου
 γέγραψαι,” καὶ εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔκτεινεν
 ἄμφω.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δείγματα·
 Λιγάριον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρ-
 ρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαιναν, προδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ’
 αὐτῆς εἶπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένη
 βοῶσα· “ἐγὼ τοῦτον ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δ’ ὅμοια
 τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμια.” καὶ οὐδενὸς
 αὐτὴν οὔτε ἀναιροῦντος οὔτε μηνύοντος, αὐτάγ-
 γελος ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε καθ’ ἑαυτῆς, κἀκεί-
 νων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδόντων,
 ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λιμῶ. καὶ τῇσδε μὲν ἐνθάδε
 ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισώζουσα ἀπ-
 ετύχανέ τε καὶ συνεξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν· ὅσαι δὲ
 ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισωθεῖσι
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράψω. ἕτεραι δὲ ἀθεμίστως
 ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστίν,
 ἡ Σεπτιμίῳ μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δέ τινος Ἀντωνίου
 φίλου διεφθείρετο· ἐπειγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐς
 γάμον ἐδεήθη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντω-
 νίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοῖς πίναξι προσε-
 τέθη. καὶ μαθὼν ἐς τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας τῶν
 οἴκοι κακῶν ἔφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὥς φιλοφρονουμένη τὰς
 θύρας ἐπέκλεισε καὶ ἐτήρει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕως οἱ
 σφαγεῖς παρεγένοντο· καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ
 μὲν ἐκείνον ἀνῆρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθυε γάμους.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

before him.”¹ The centurion, having the proscrip-
tion list at hand, said, “Your request is a proper
one, for your name comes before his.” And so
saying, he killed both of them in due order.

23. The above may serve as examples in the case
of brothers. Ligarius was concealed by his wife,
who communicated the secret to only one female
slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she
followed her husband’s head as it was carried away,
crying out, “I sheltered him; those who give
shelter are to share the punishment.” As nobody
killed her or informed of her, she came to the
triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being
moved by her love for her husband they pretended
not to see her, so she starved herself to death. I
have mentioned her in this place, because she failed
to save her husband and would not survive him. I
shall refer to those who were successful in their
devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men
who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands
infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius,
who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony.
Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection
for matrimony, she besought Antony through her
paramour to rid her of her husband. Septimius was
at once put on the list of the proscribed. When he
learned this, in ignorance of this domestic treachery
he fled to his wife’s house. She, as though with
loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until
the murderers came. The same day that her husband
was killed she celebrated her new nuptials.

Septimius
betrayed by
his wife

¹ ἐμὲ κτείνετε πρὸς τοῦτον. This may mean, “kill me before
him,” or “kill me instead of him.” The latter was the
meaning intended, but the centurion interpreted it the other
way for the sake of the jest.

CAP.
IV

24. Σάλασσος δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἦκε μὲν εἰς πόλιν νυκτός, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δεινόν, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος αὐτὸν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος ἐπέγνω καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οἶκημα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ κρύψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ θρέψειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκά οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἡ δ' ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδιέναι δ' ὥς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ θεραπαίναις τὸ ὑποπτον, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἦξιν ἔφη. καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετῆει, καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπείξων· ὁ δὲ Σάλασσος, οἰχομένου τοῦ θυρωροῦ δείσας ὡς εἰς ἐνέδραν ἀπιόντος, εἰς τὸ τέγος ἀναδραμὼν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ γιννόμενον, ἰδὼν δὲ οὐ τὸν θυρώρον, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἡγουμένην ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. Φούλβιον δὲ εἰς θεραπαίνης φυγόντα παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηλευθερωμένης καὶ προῖκα εἰς γάμον ἐπιλαβούσης, ἡ τοσάδε εὖ παθοῦσα προῦδωκε ζηλοτυπία τῆς μεθ' ἑαυτὴν τῷ Φουλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑποδείγματα γεγράφθω· 25. Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης, πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ κατειργασμένος, διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἔργων καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος εἰς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον ἀνακεκλημένος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ὢν ἤδη καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον προγεγραμμένος, ἀνεπέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὅσα θέλοιν,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

24. Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers, and the janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming, and Salassus, when he had gone out, feared that he had gone to lay a plot against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing not the janitor but his wife bringing the murderers, he precipitated himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her.

Let the above suffice as examples of depraved women. 25. Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered

CHAP
IV
Other
depraved
women

Statius,
Capito, and
Vetulinus

CAP. IV. τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης ἐπικλείσας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο. Καπίτων δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγων τοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους καθ' ἓνα ἀνήρει, ὑπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιβρισάντων εἰς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐετουλίνος δὲ χεῖρα ἤθροισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον αὐτῶν τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἱ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμέναι πάννυ ἐδυσχέραινον. τούσδε οὖν ἔχων ὁ Οὐετουλίνος ἀνήρει τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέοντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέονος οὐδ' ὥς ἔληξεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὑποδεχόμενον, ἐπέρασεν. εἴτα ἐπολέμει καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἡσώμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἄλλοι συνῆσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, ὥς εἶδε πορθμευόμενον ἤδη τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεκόπη.

26. Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἐξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ γενομένου, προδοθεὶς ἤρπασε παρά του τῶν στρατιωτῶν ξίφος καὶ τὸν προδότην μόνον ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέσποτος δὲ οἰκέτης τὸν κεκτημένον ἐπὶ λόφου ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει μισθωσόμενος αὐτῷ σκάφος. ἐπανιῶν δὲ κτεινόμενόν τε εἶδε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἤδη μέγα βοῶν “ἐπίμεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὦ δέσποτα,” εἶπε καὶ κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἄφνω. μετὰ δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

his property around with his own hand. When at last the house was empty he closed the doors, set fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who was master of that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messina, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.

26. Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been his favourite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he saw his master being killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, "Wait a moment, my master," whereupon he fell suddenly upon the

CHAP.
IV

Servants
and their
masters

CAP. IV. ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναιρῶν εἶπε τῷ δεσπότῃ·
 “ παραμύθιον ἔχεις.” Λεύκιος δὲ δύο πιστοτάτοις
 ἀπελευθέρους χρυσίον δούς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει,
 διαδράντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων
 τοῦ βίου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγεῦσι.
 Λαβιηνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς
 τῶν τότε συλλαβῶν τε καὶ κτείνας ἠδόξησεν ἄρα,
 εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια γενναίως ἐνέγκοι, καὶ προελθὼν
 τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας
 περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρὰ εὐνόοις
 θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ’ αἰεὶ σὺν
 ὅπλοις ἢ κεφαλαῖς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος
 τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ’ ἔπεισε τοὺς θεράποντας ἄψαι
 πυράν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανόντα
 θάπτοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευθέντες ἦψαν, ὁ δὲ
 ἐσῆλατο ἐς αὐτήν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἑαυ-
 τὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς
 διαίτης, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν.
 ἄλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθήστο ἐκὼν καὶ βραδυνόντων
 τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγξατο ἐν μέσῳ.

27. Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος
 τότε πενθερός, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ φέρων
 τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀηδίαν ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ
 πέλαγος. Καισέννιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύ-
 γοντά τε καὶ βοῶντα οὐ προγεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ
 τὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ
 τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ
 ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἔκτειναν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, saying to his master, "Now you have consolation." CHAP.
IV Lucius put money in the hands of his two most faithful freedmen and started for the sea-shore. They ran away with it, and he turned around, despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed many persons in the time of the proscription of Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he did not bear a like fate bravely. So he went to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed himself in the fields among faithful slaves. When he saw centurions running hither and thither with weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might say that they were paying the last rites to the dead Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it. Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could not endure the meanness of his mode of existence, he came forth and delivered himself to slaughter. Another proscript voluntarily seated himself in full view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming, he strangled himself in public.

27. Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not bear the anguish of the tempest he leaped overboard. Caesennius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he was not proscribed, but that they had conspired against him on account of his money. They brought him to the proscription list and told him to read his name on it, and while he was reading killed him.

CAP. IV. Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι προγέγραπται, διωκόμενον ἄλλον ἰδὼν ἤρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τὸν διώκοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἴη· καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας “σὺ καὶ ἐκείνος” εἶπε καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κίλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῖων καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐπύθοντο σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα προσγεγράφθαι, οὐπω τινὸς ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς, ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν.

Ἰκέλιος δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κασσίῳ δικάζων, Καίσαρος τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐφεστῶτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα τὴν καταδικάζουσιν φερόντων, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσιν ἤνεγκε φανερώς, ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγαλόφρονος ἐλευθεριότητος, νεκρὸν σῶμα ἐκκομίζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συνεβάσταξε τὸ λέχος. ἰδόντων δὲ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς πύλας, ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἐνὶ ἀνδρί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονοοῦντων, τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνωμένων, μὴ νεκρὸν τις ὑποκρίνοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Ἰκέλιον ἤλεγχον οὐχ ὁμότεχνον σφίσιν ὄντα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

28. Οὐᾶρος δ' ἀπελευθέρου προδιδόντος αὐτὸν ἀπέδρα, καὶ ὄρος ἐξ ὄρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρναίων ἔλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἔνθα ἑαυτὸν διαναπαύων ἡσύχαζε. τῶν δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσῃ λησστηρίου τὸ ἔλος περιθεόντων, ἥ τε κόμη τοῦ δόνακος σαλευθεῖσα ἐνέφηγε τὸν Οὐᾶρον, καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Aemilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and seeing another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man was. The centurion, recognizing Aemilius, replied, "You and he," and killed them both. Cillo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when they learned that their names had been added to the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinently through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road.

CHAP.
IV

Icelius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius, when Octavian was supervising the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence, put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers convicted Icelius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.

28. Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to the marsh at Minturnae, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnae were scouring this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and

The cases
of Varus
and Largus

CAP. IV. ληφθεὶς ἔλεγεν εἶναι ληστής καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε
θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἡνείχετο. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν
ἔμελλον καὶ βασανιεῖν ἐς τοὺς συνεγνωκότας,
οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἤδη τοῦτο ὥς ἀπρεπέστερον, “ἀπα-
γορεύω,” φησὶν, “ὕμιν, ὦ Μιντουρναῖοι, ὑπατόν
με γεγεννημένον, καί, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἄρχουσι τιμιώτερόν
ἐστι, προγεγραμμένον μήτε βασανίζειν μήτε
ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι μοι διαφυγεῖν,
ἄμεινον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων παθεῖν.” ἀπιστούν-
των δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπο-
νοούντων λοχαγὸς ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τὴν κεφα-
λὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρ-
ναίοις κατέλιπε.

Λάργον ἕτεροι συνελάμβανον ἐν χωρίοις, οὐ
Λάργον, ἀλλ’ ἕτερον διώκοντες· οἰκτείραντες δ’,
ὅτι μὴ ζητούμενος ἀλοίη, φεύγειν μεθῆκαν ἀνὰ
τὴν ὕλην. ὁ δὲ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων διωκόμενος δρόμῳ
τοὺς προτέρους κατέλαβε καὶ “ὕμεῖς,” ἔφη, “με
κτείνατε μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν
ἀντὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς φέρησθε.”

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθνήσκων
φιλανθρωπίας, 29. Ροῦφος δὲ ἔχων συνοικίαν
περικαλλή, γείτονα Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς
Ἀντωνίου, πάλαι μὲν ἀξιούσῃ τῇ Φουλβίᾳ
πρίασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ συνεχώρει, τότε δὲ καὶ
δωρούμενος προεγράφη. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν
Ἀντωνιὸς οἱ προσφερομένην οὐχ ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν
εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς
ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προτεθῆναι.
ἑπαυλιν ἕτερος εἶχε περικαλλή καὶ σύσκιον,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death on this ground and resigned himself, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnae," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and—what is more important in the eyes of our present rulers—also proscribed! If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighbourhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians.

Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men."

Thus Largus recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him. 29. As for Rufus, he possessed a handsome mansion near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife. She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place

CHAP.
IV

Rufus
proscribed
for the sake
of his house

CAP.
IV. ἄντρον τε καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βαθύ, καὶ τάχα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ προυγράφη. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγέων ἔτι μακρόθεν ἐπιθεόντων θεράπων αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδυ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἶναι καὶ δεδιέναι· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὁμοδούλων τις ἐνέφηνε τὴν ἐνέδραν. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ὧδε τοῦ δεσπότου, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα ἐλευθερώσαι ἐποίησεν. Ἀτέριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον θεράπων ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἐλεύθερος αὐτίκα γενόμενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ μετὰ .σιγῆς εἶποντο κλαίοντες, ἕως ὁ δῆμος ἡγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτόν, ὡς πλεονάσαντα τῆς χρείας, ἀνεδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου.

V

CAP.
V. 30. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, ἤψατο δὲ καὶ ὀρφανῶν διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ τότε τύχη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῷ συνανηρέθη, τὸν παῖδα περισχομένῳ τε καὶ οὐ μεθιέντι. Ἀτίλιος δὲ ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων περιθέμενος στολὴν ἦει μὲν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, σὺν πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ἱερά, ἄφνω δὲ

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in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account of which probably he was proscribed. He was taking the air in this grotto when the murderers were observed by a slave, as they were coming toward him, but still some distance off. The slave conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto, dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended that he was the man and simulated alarm, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this way the master was killed, but the people were so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest until they had obtained from them the crucifixion of the slave who had betrayed his master, and the freedom of the one who had tried to save him.

A slave revealed the hiding-place of Haterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscript, for overdoing his part.

V

30. SUCH were the miseries of grown men, but the calamity extended to orphan children on account of their wealth. One of these, who was going to school, was killed, together with his attendant, who threw his arms around the boy and would not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming the man's toga, went, as was customary, with a procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples.

CHAP.
V
Children
proscribed
for their
wealth

CAP.
V. ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ
θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος
ἐκ δαψιλοῦς παραπομπῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐχώρει·
οὐ δεξαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους,
οὐκ ἀξιώσας ἔτι ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ἑτέρου μετὰ
μητέρα, ἐς ὅρος ἔφυγεν· ὅθεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐς τὰ
πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλήφθη πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ληστεύειν
τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖν εἰθι-
σμένου. οἷα δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τὸν πόνον οὐκ
ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν αὐταῖς χοινικίσι διέδρα
καὶ παροδεύουσι λοχαγοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ
ἀνῆρέθη.

31. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Λέπιδος ἐπὶ "Ιβηρσιν
ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ προυτέθη διάγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον·
"ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ προειρήσθω πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν
καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν· ὃς δ'
ἂν μὴ φαίνεται ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμ-
μένοις ἔσται." ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ
ἀνῆγε, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων μετὰ
σχήματος ἱλαροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦς· τῶν δὲ
προγεγραμμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖτο,
καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἦν ὁ τὰ χωρία ὠνούμενος, οἱ μὲν
ἐπιβαρεῖν τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσιν αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν
αἰσίῳ σφίσι τὰ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ
ἀσφαλές ὅλως χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἔχοντας ὀρά-
σθαι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικτήσεις νῦν ἀκινδύνους, πολὺ δὲ
μᾶλλον τὰ ὄντα ἐπικίνδυνα. μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ
θρασύτητα προσιόντες, ἅτε μόνοι, βραχυτάτου
πάμπαν ὠνούντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐλπίσασιν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

His name being put on the proscription list unexpectedly, his friends and servants ran away. Left alone, and bereft of his fine escort, he went to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody else after his mother had failed him, he fled to a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain, where he was captured by a highwayman, accustomed to rob passers-by and set them to work in factories. The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped to the high roads with his fetters, revealed himself to some passing centurions, and was killed.

31. While these events were taking place Lepidus enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and an edict was displayed in the following terms: "May Fortune favour us. Let it be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate this day with sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do so shall be put on the list of the proscribed." Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol, accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart. The houses of the proscribed were looted, but there were not many buyers of their lands, since some were ashamed to add to the burden of the unfortunate. Others thought that such property would bring them bad luck, or that it would not be at all safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in their possession, or that, as they were not free from danger with their present holdings, it would be an additional risk to increase them. Only the boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the lowest prices, because they were the only buyers. Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had

CHAP.
V

Sales of
confiscated
property

CAP. ^V ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς τάδε ἀρκέσειν, ἐνέδει μυριάδων ἔτι δισμυρίων.

32. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἱ μάλιστα πλούτῳ διέφερον· καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον ἐκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς ἀποκρυψαμέναις τι τῶν ὄντων, ἣ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ δούλοις μίνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον, οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου· Φουλβίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἤνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὡσάμεναι, δισταμένων τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὁρτησίας ἐς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης· “ὁ μὲν ἤρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναιξὶ τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν· ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἤρμοζεν, ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεώσμεθα ὑπ’ αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε μὲν ἤδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἀδελφούς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἠδίκησθε· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε, περιστήσετε ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δὴ τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἠδικῆσθαί φατε, προγράψατε καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδέν· ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε πολέμιον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθεύ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their pre-
parations for the war, were still short by 200,000,000
drachmas.

32. The triumvirs addressed the people on this
subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the
richest women to make a valuation of their property,
and to furnish for the service of the war such portion
as the triumvirs should require from each. It was
provided further that if any should conceal their
property or make a false valuation they should be
fined, and that rewards should be given to informers,
whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved
to beseech the women-folk of the triumvirs. With
the sister of Octavian and the mother of Antony
they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the
doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness
they could scarce endure. They then forced their
way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum,
the people and the guards dividing to let them pass.
There, through the mouth of Hortensia, whom they
had selected to speak, they spoke as follows: "As
befitted women of our rank addressing a petition to
you, we had recourse to the ladies of your house-
holds; but having been treated as did not befit us,
at the hands of Fulvia, we have been driven by her
to the forum. You have already deprived us of our
fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers,
whom you accused of having wronged you; if you
take away our property also, you reduce us to a con-
dition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex.
If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands
have, proscribe us as you do them. But if we
women have not voted any of you public enemies,
have not torn down your houses, destroyed your

CHAP. V

Taxes
imposed
upon
women

Protest of
Hortensia

UAP.
V
λομεν οἰκίαν ἢ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἢ ἐπηγάγομεν ἕτερον ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχοῦσαι;

33. “Τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι φατέ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισήνεγκαν; ἃς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρὰ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἅπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλούντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἐκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ χωρίων ἢ προικὸς ἢ οἰκιῶν, ὧν χωρὶς ἀβιώτόν ἐστιν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν οἴκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἢ κατηγοροῖς οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἢ βίαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβος; ἴτω τοίνυν ἢ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἢ Παρθυαίων, καὶ οὐ χείρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μητέρων. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμὲν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμῖν κατ’ ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος ἢ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίννας ἠνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας, ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος· ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν.”

34. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀρθησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχάζοντων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honours,—^{CHAP. V} why do we share the penalty when we did not share the guilt?

33. “Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honours, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? ‘Because this is a time of war,’ do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers did once rise superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and even these not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. What alarm is there now for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other! We did not contribute to Caesar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are re-establishing the commonwealth.”

34. While Hortensia thus spoke the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public

CAP.
V. θρασυνοῦνται τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν· ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐξωθεῖν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἔξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης οἱ τε ὑπηρέται τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφον ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἱερέα καὶ πανταεθνή, μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένου, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὁμοίου φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὁμοίοις, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτίκα δανείσαιεν αὐτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγκαιεν.

35. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιαῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἐπέειχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χείρονα ἐποιοῦν. ὥς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἡτοῦντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαν ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ἔπαυλιν ἢ ὅλον κλῆρον, οἱ δ' αὖ παῖδας ἀνδράσι θετοὺς γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕτερα ἔδρων, κτινύντες τε τοὺς οὐ προγεγραμμένους καὶ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαιτίων διαφοροῦντες. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας προγράψαι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπιστροφὴν τινα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γιγνομένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

meeting when the men were silent ; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and themselves not so much as furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception, should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year's income to the war expenses.

CHAP.
V

The
triumvirs
relax the
impost

35. Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs ; but even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of [rich] men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the

Outrages
committed
by soldiers

CAP.
V. ἔδεισεν ἄψασθαι, μὴ σφᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν παροξύνῃ,
τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς, οἳ σχήματι στρατιωτῶν
συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνοις, λαβὼν ἐκρέμασε.

VI

CAP.
VI. 36. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς
προγεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν·
ὅσα δὲ ἐκ παραλόγου τισὶν ἐγίγνετο ἔς τε τὴν
σωτηρίαν αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς ἀξίωσιν ὕστερον, ἐμοί τε
ἥδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὠφελιμώτερον ἐς
μηδὲν ἀποκάμνοντας ἐλπίζειν περιέσεσθαι. αἱ μὲν
οὖν φυγαὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἦσαν ἐς Κάσσιον ἢ
Βροῦτον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κορνηφίκιον, καὶ
τόνδε τῆς δημοκρατίας μεταποιούμενον· ὁ δὲ
πολὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἦει, γειτονεύουσαν τῆς
Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πομπηίου σφᾶς προθύμως ὑπο-
δεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς
τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ὁ Πομπήσιος ἐν καιρῷ τότε
ἔδειξε, κήρυκας τε περιπέμπων, οἳ πάντας ἐς
αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς περισώζουσιν αὐτοὺς
ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ θεράπουσι προλέγων διπλάσια
τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἰρούσι· λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ
στρογγύλα ὑπήντα τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ τριήρεις
τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεον, σημεία τε ἀνίσχουσai
τοῖς ἄλωμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα περισώ-
ζουσαι. αὐτὸς τε τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἀπήντα καὶ
ἐσθήτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐμερίζετο· τοῖς δὲ
ἀξίοις καὶ ἐς στρατηγίας ἢ ναυαρχίας ἐχρήτο.
σπονδῶν τέ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γιγνομένων ὕστε-
ρον, οὐ συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

soldiers lest he should excite their rage against himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves who were masquerading as soldiers and committing outrages in company with them.

VI

36. SUCH are examples of the extreme misfortunes that befell the proscribed. Instances where some were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised to positions of honour are more agreeable to me to relate, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing that they should never fall into despair, but that hope will always remain to them. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa, where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The greater number, however, went to Sicily because of its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius received them gladly. The latter showed the most admirable and timely zeal in behalf of the unfortunate, sending heralds who invited all to come to him, and offered to those who should save the proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the rewards that had been offered for killing them. His small boats and merchant ships met those who were escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the shore and made signals to those wandering there and saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met the newcomers and provided them at once with clothing and other necessities. To those who were worthy he assigned commands in his military and naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms

CHAP.

VI

Examples
of escape
among the
proscribed

CAP. VI. διαφυγόντας ἐς ταύτας περιλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρησιμώτατος οὕτως ἀτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίνετο, καὶ δόξαν ἐκ τοῦδε ἀγαθὴν, ἴδιον ἐπὶ τῇ πατρῷᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἥσσονα τήνδε ἐκείνης, προσελάμβανεν· ἕτεροι δὲ ἐτέρως φυγόντες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις ἢ τάφοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, σὺν ἐπινοίαις οἰκτραῖς διεγένοντο. φιλανδρίαι τε παράδοξοι γυναικῶν ὥφθησαν καὶ παίδων ἐς πατέρας εὐνοιαὶ καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότης. καὶ τῶνδε ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.

37. Παῦλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λεπίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδουμένων, ἐπὶ ἀδείας ἐξέπλευσεν ἐς Βρούτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον μετὰ Βρούτον· ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ὕστερον γενομένης καλούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἠξίωσε. Λεύκιον δέ, τὸν Ἀντωνίου θεῖον, ἢ Ἀντωνίου μήτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὄντα εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπικρύπτουσα, αἰδουμένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ τήνδε τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος. βιαζομένων δ' ὕστερον ἐξέθορεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προκαθημένῳ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἔφη· “ἐμαυτὴν, ὦ αὐτοκράτορ, μηνύω σοι Λεύκιον ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ ἔξειν, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁμοῦ κατακάνῃς· τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπικεκήρυκται.” ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιμεμψάμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν, μητέρα δὲ οὐκ εὐγνώμονα (οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρῆναι περισφάζειν Λεύκιον, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν, ὅτε σου τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι

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those who had taken refuge with him. In this way he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest service, from which he gained a high reputation of his own in addition to that which he had inherited from his father, and not less than that. Others escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was restored. Remarkable examples were shown of the love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their fathers, and of slaves, quite beyond nature, for their masters. Some of the most remarkable of these I shall now relate.

37. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of a triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of a triumvir. When, later, they attempted to take him by force, she hurried into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister, saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now.

CHAP. VI
The brother of Lepidus allowed to escape

CAP. VI πολέμιον ἐψηφίζετο), παρεσκεύασεν ὅμως Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα κάθοδον τῷ Λευκίῳ ψηφίσασθαι.

38. Μεσσάλας δὲ ἐπιφανῆς καὶ νέος ἐς Βρούτου ἔφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δείσαντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρόνημα προύγραψαν οὕτως· “ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν ἀπέφηναν ἡμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπιδημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνηρεῖτο, ἐξηρήσθω τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ Μεσσάλας.” ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐδέξατο, Βρούτου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου περὶ Θράκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ τε ἔτι ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἄρχειν σφῶν τὸν Μεσσάλαν αἰρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας ἐπιβαροῦσθαι τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύσασθαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἰκειότερος δὲ ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ συνῆν, μέχρι κρατούσης Ἀντωνίου Κλεοπάτρας ἐπιμεμφάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπατὸν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀποχειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὐθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιος, καὶ περὶ Ἀκτιον ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸν ἔπεμφεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφισταμένους καὶ νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι.

Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἅμα τῷ Μεσσάλᾳ καὶ ἐναυάρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλλαγὰς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

39. Ἀκίλιος δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως λαθὼν, οἰκέτου δ' αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὀπλίταις, τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἔπεισεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόν-

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Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus CHAP. VI
a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship.

38. Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Messala and Bibulus
Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Caesar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavian, who made him consul in place of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavian sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them.

Bibulus was received into favour at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavian and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

39. Acilius fled from the city secretly. His Acilius and Lentulus
hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger

CAP. VI. ^{VI}ων πέμψαι τινὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν πρὸς τὴν γυν-
αῖκα μετὰ συμβόλων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐδίδου. ἡ δὲ
τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προ-
θεῖσα ἔφη δίδοναι μὲν ὡς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἀ-
νέσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δέ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ
μὴν ἐψεύσθη τῆς φιλανδρίας· οἱ γὰρ ὀπλῖται
καὶ ναῦν ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκιλίῳ καὶ πρού-
πεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν. Λέντλος δέ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ
συμφεύγειν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν
ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἐθέλων αὐτὴν συγκινδυνεύειν
ἑαυτῷ, λαθὼν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν, στρατηγὸς δὲ
ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι σφῶζοιτο
καὶ στρατηγοίη. ἡ δ', ὅποι γῆς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ,
ἐπιγνούσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσαν ἐξέφυγε καὶ
ἦδε σὺν θεράπουσι δύο· μεθ' ὧν ὥδευεν ἐπι-
μόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἶα θεράπαινα, μέχρι διέ-
πλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου περὶ ἐσπέραν.
καὶ οὐ δυσχερῶς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαθοῦσα,
εὔρε τὸν Λέντλον οὐχ οἶα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν
χαμευνίῳ καὶ κόμῃ καὶ διαίτῃ πονηρᾷ πόθῳ
τῆς γυναικός.

40. Ἀπουληίῳ δὲ ἠπείλησεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμη-
νύσειν αὐτόν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων
αὐτὴν ἐπήγετο, συνήνεγκε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ
τὸ ἀνύποπτον, ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ
θεραπαίναις ὁδεύοντι φανερώς. Ἄντιον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ
στρωματοδέσμῳ κατείλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τοῖς
μισθοῦ φέρουσι καὶ διήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

reward, to send some of their number to his wife with a private token that he gave them. When they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying that she gave it in return for what they had promised, although she did not know whether they would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and saw him off to Sicily. The wife of Lentulus asked that she might accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon his movements for that purpose, but he was not willing that she should share his danger, and fled secretly to Sicily. Being appointed praetor there by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved and elevated to office. When she learned in what part of the earth her husband was she escaped with two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch over her. With these she travelled in the guise of a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare, until she was able to make the passage from Rhegium to Messina about nightfall. She learned without difficulty where the praetor's tent was, and there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a praetor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and wretched food, mourning for his wife.

40. The wife of Apuleius threatened that if he should fly without her, she would give information against him. So he took her with him unwillingly, and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight by travelling with his wife and his male and female slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the bundle to some porters to carry from the house to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to

CHAP.
VI

Escape of
Apuleius
and
Rheginus

CAP. VI. *θάλασσαν, ὅθεν ἔφυγεν εἰς Σικελίαν. Ῥηγῖνον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς εἰς ὑπόνομον λυμάτων καθήκεν, εἰς ὃν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμβῆναι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοδμίαν, νυκτὸς ἄλλης εἰς ἀνθρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ ὄνον ἀνθρακας φέροντα ἐλαύνειν ἔδωκεν· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκ βραχέος διαστήματος ἡγείτο φορεῖω φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ὀπλιτῶν τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονοήσαντός τε καὶ ἐρευνωμένου, δείσας ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὡς ὁδῷ χρώμενος ἡξίου τὸν ὀπλίτην φείδεσθαι γυναικῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀνθρακέα μετ' ὀργῆς ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν (ἐστράτευτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῷ ποτε ἐν Συρίᾳ) καὶ “ἄπιθι χαίρων,” εἶπεν, “αὐτοκράτορ· τοῦτο γάρ μοι προσήκει καὶ νῦν καλεῖν σε.” Κοπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἤτησε παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, σώφρων μὲν οὔσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἰωμένη.*

41. *Γέταν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔδοξε καίειν ὡς ἀπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθὼν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωνήτῳ κατέλιπεν, ἔνθα ὁ πρεσβύτης μεταμορφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἔλυσεν τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας δεδαπάνητο. Ὀππιον δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὑπὸ γήρως ἀσθενεστάτου μένειν ἐθέλοντα, ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως ἐξήγαγέ τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Σικελίας ἄγων ἢ φέρων ἐκόμισεν, οὐδενὸς ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονοήσαντος ἢ ἐνυβρίσαντος, οἷόν που καὶ τὸν Αἰνεΐαν γράφουσιν*

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Sicily. The wife of Rheginus concealed him by night in a sewer, into which the soldiers were not willing to enter in the daytime, on account of the foul odour. The next night she disguised him as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a short distance, borne in a litter. One of the soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and searched it. Rheginus was alarmed and hastened his steps, and as if he were a passer-by admonished the soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter, who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to call you." The wife of Coponius purchased his safety from Antony, although she had previously been chaste, thus curing one evil with another.

41. The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting his appearance and nobody mocking him. In like manner they say that Aeneas was respected

CHAP.
VI

Oppius
saved by
his son

CAP. VI. αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν ὕστερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀγορανόμον· δεδημευμένης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπάνημα οἷ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμισθὶ συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ὅσον ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἐρρίπτει, ἕως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλούτισαν. Ἀρριανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν. “τὸν ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεῖς προγραφέντα ἔκρυψέ τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περιέσωσε.”

42. Μετέλλω δὲ ἦστην υἱὸς τε καὶ πατήρ· καὶ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν πατήρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἀκτιον αἰχμάλωτος ἐάλω καὶ ἡγνοεῖτο, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἐστρατηγῇ καὶ ὅδε περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον. ἐν δὲ Σάμῳ διακρίνονται τῷ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ μὲν παῖς συνήδρευεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἤγετο κόμης τε ἔμπλεως καὶ δύης καὶ ῥύπου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶνδε μεταμορφώσεως. ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεκλήθη, ἀνέθορεν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ μόλις ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν πατέρα ἡσπάζετο σὺν οἰμωγῇ· ἐπισχὼν δέ ποτε τοῦ θρήνου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔφη. “οὗτος μὲν σοι πολέμιος γέγονεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ σύμμαχος· καὶ χρὴ τοῦτον μὲν σοι δοῦναι δίκην, ἐμὲ δὲ γέρας εὐρέσθαι. αἰτῶ δὴ σε τὸν πατέρα σφάζειν δι' ἐμὲ ἢ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

even by his enemies when carrying his father. CHAP. VI
In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the aedileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office,¹ the artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra, so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father's tomb: "Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him, and saved him."

42. There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The Metelli,
father
and son The father held a command under Antony at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavian and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavian was classifying the prisoners at Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavian, "He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me

¹ Aediles were involved in much expense by reason of the public games they were accustomed to give during their term of office.

CAP
VI

δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ συγκατακαθεῖν." οἴκτου δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων γενομένου μεθῆκε σφῆζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον ὁ Καῖσαρ, καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ γερόμενον καὶ δωρεῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μεταθοῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, πολλάκις ὑπεριδόντα.

43. Μάρκον δὲ οἱ θεράποντες σὺν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς χρόνον διεφύλαξαν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μέχρι τῆς ἀδείας δοθείσης ὁ Μάρκος ἐξῆι τῆς οἰκίας ὡς ἀπὸ φυγῆς. Ἴρτιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκφυγὼν τῆς πόλεως διώδευε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐκλύων τε δεσμώτας καὶ συνάγων τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ πολίχνια δηῶν, ὀλίγα πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ μείζω, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἔθνος ἐχειρώσατο καί, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς Πομπήιον μεθ' ὅσων εἶχε διέπλευσε.

Ῥεστίωνι δὲ οἰομένῳ μόνῳ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἶπετο λανθάνων, ἀνάθρεπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥεστίωνος καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον εὖ παθὼν, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὕστερον ἐστιγμένος. ἀναπαυομένῳ δὲ ἐν ἔλει τῷ Ῥεστίωνι ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεράπων ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα ὀφθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν παρόντων στιγμάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημονεύειν τῶν πρότερον εὐεργετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τι σπήλαιον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δέ τινος ἀμφὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τοῖς ἐγγύς ὀπλίταις περὶ τοῦ Ῥεστίωνος γενομένης καὶ χωρούντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὁ οἰκέτης εἶπετο συνεῖς καὶ τινα πρεσβύτην προοδεύοντα προδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

at the same time on his account." There was much emotion on all sides, and Octavian spared Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile to himself and had scorned many offers made to him to desert Antony.

43. The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting run-aways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius.

When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave of his own rearing, who had been very well treated by him formerly, but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighbourhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him

CHAP
VI

Marcus and
Restio saved
by slaves

CAP. VI. ὥς ἀνδροφόνον ὁδοιπόρου περισχόντων, “Ῥεστί-
 ωνα,” ἔφη, “ἔκτεινα, τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ δεσπότην, τάδε
 μοι τὰ στίγματα ἐγχαράξαντα.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενοι διὰ τὸ γέρας, ἠπείγοντο
 μάτην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὃ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἀναστήσας
 διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν.

44. Ἄππιον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἐπαύλει, τῶν
 ὀπλιτῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθήτα
 ἐνέδυσσε, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν οἷα δεσπότης
 ἀνακλιθεὶς ἐκὼν ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότης,
 παρεστῶτος ὥς οἰκέτου. Μενηνίου δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν
 καταλαβόντων ὀπλιτῶν, θεράπων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσ-
 πότης φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούλων συνερ-
 γούντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἕως ὅδε μὲν ὥς Μενήνιος ἐκὼν
 ἀνήρητο, Μενήνιος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν διέφυγεν. Οὐνίου
 δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Οὐνίου, Φιλήμων, οἰκίαν
 κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς οἰκίας
 ἔκρυψε ἐν λάρνακι, ἃς ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἐς χρημάτων
 ἢ βιβλίων ἔχουσι φυλακὴν· καὶ νυκτὸς ἔτρεφε
 μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. ἕτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος, τάφον
 δεσπότης φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπότης προγρα-
 φέντα ἐφύλασσε ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.

Λουκρήτιος ἀλώμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγα-
 θοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ἦει πρὸς τὴν
 γυναῖκα, φορεῖω φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἷα
 τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόν-
 των τὸ σκέλος συντρίβεντος τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὴν χεῖρα
 ἐπιθεὶς ἦει. παρὰ δὲ ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος,
 ἔνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα προγραφεὶς
 ἐαλώκει, εἶδε λόχον ὀπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα καὶ πρὸς
 τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τόπου καταπλαγεὶς συνεκρύφθη

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

for a highwayman, but he said, "I have killed Restio, my master, the man who marked me with these scars." The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city, to find their mistake. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily. CHAP. VI

44. Appius was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave. When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinus had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recesses thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the night-time, until the return of peace. Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the tomb with his father. Faithful freedmen

Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise of a sick man, by the two slaves to the city. One of the bearers broke his leg, so Lucretius walked leaning upon the other. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with the slave

CAP. VI. μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν τάφῳ. τυμβωρύχων δὲ τοὺς τάφους ἐρευνωμένων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τυμβωρύχοις παρέσχε περιδύειν, μέχρι Λουκρήτιον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερισάμενος ἐσθήτος, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξὺ, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσαντο παρὰ τῶν προγραφάντων καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

45. Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύφθη παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεισε κάθοδον αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὁ Σέργιος ὕστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσιν ἔφερε φανερώς.

Καὶ οἷδε μὲν οὕτως ἐσώζοντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς ὑπηρέτας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις διῆλθεν, ἐπιθλιβόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθεῖη πρὸς ἐτέρου, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἀπάντων οἷα στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπονδὰς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπεσταλμένον, μέχρι καὶ δημοσία τριήρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκείνον.

46. Ἀπουλῆιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρούντιος ὑποκριθέντες εἶναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς στρατιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς λοχαγοὶ διώκοντες ἐτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὁδὸν διελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλκουν καὶ τοὺς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to these robbers to be stripped till Lucretius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him, shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship.

CHAP.
VI

45. Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavian and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative.

Thus these all were saved. As for Pomponius, he arrayed himself in the garb of a praetor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a praetor attended by lictors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a praetor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius.

Daring
exploit of
Pomponius

46. Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons, while for the remainder of their course they took different roads, releasing prisoners

Strange
battle
between
fugitives

CAP.
VI ἀποδράντας συνέλεγον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἑκατέρῳ γενομένης σημεία τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ὄψις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφί τινι λόφῳ σταθμεύουσι, μεγάλῳ δέει καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ ἔφ περινεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἔδοξαν ἀλλήλους ἑκάτερος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι καὶ συμπλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐπιβαροῦσάν σφισιν ἐς ἅπαντα ἐπεμέμφοντο. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βρούτον, ὁ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον, ὁ μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκατήλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε τῷ Βρούτῳ Βιθυνίας καὶ Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ παραδοὺς Βιθυνίαν κατήχθη. Οὐεντίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος εὐθύς μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδησεν ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔπεισε καὶ ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὀπλίτας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὡς λοχαγὸν ἐξήγαγε· τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Σικελίας διώδουσιν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλάκις ἐτέροις λοχαγοῖς ζητοῦσιν Οὐεντίδιον.

47. Ἐτερον ἐν τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ φέροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαῦλον οἶκημα μισθωτόν. στρατιώτου δ' αὐτῷ παρακατ-
οικισθέντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φέρων τὸν φόβον ἐς θαυμαστήν τόλμαν ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ κειράμενος ἡγεῖτο ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμῃ διδασκαλείου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and collecting fugitives until a sufficient force was obtained by each to display the standards, the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they each arrived separately at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedman put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and they traversed the whole of Italy as far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius.

47. Another proscribed was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome

CHAP.
VI

CAP. VI. μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. Οὐολούσιος δὲ ἀγορα-
νομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλον ὀργιαστήν τῆς Ἰσιδος
ἔχων ἤτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδου τὰς
ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ
διήλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομ-
πήιον. Σίττιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν ὄντα
καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψιλοὺς ἀνα-
λώσαντα, ἐφύλασσαν, σιδηροφοροῦντές τε ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας ἀπερύκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι
μαραινομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπρέ-
σβευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίττιον τῆς
ἄλλης Ἰταλίας εἰργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν.
Σίττιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἢ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε τῆς
ξένης ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν
φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς, ἐστρατευ-
μένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκώς, καὶ ἴσως διὰ
ταῦτα ὡς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προυγράφη. φιλοτι-
μουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων
καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε
καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύοι,
κατήγετο· καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὄντα
ἐνέφηνε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε
Καληνοῦ.

48. Οὐεργίνιος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἡδὺς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας
ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα
chrήματα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μύσους τε πίμπλονται καὶ
φόβων ἐς ὕστερον μεγάλων, περισώσαντες δὲ
δόξης τε εὖσεβοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ
 χρημάτων ὕστερον πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεσ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

itself, which he taught until the return of peace. CHAP. VI
Volusius was proscribed while holding the office of aedile. He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head and thus as a priest of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the soldiers from approaching their walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf, and obtained permission for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was thus the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honour of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.

How Varro
the
historian
was saved

48. Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more

Escape of
Virginius
the orator

CAP. VI. τέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνέφευγον ὡς ὁμοδούλῳ καὶ γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο· ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐδίδασκε καὶ κείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὐνεκα μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶη δικαιότερα καὶ πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, “ἐνθα μοι τὸ γύναιον,” ἔφη, “ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων συνετάξατο.” καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἷδε πεισθέντες κατήεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφίκτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡίονα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύνουτος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργίνιου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς Πομπήιον προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράποντα ὅμως ἐπὶ τῆς ἡίονος ἐξαγγέλλειν ὑπολιπούσα. καὶ ὁ θεράπων τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἰδὼν ἀνέθορέ τε ὡς ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυεν ὡς ὀρωμένην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ’ ὅτῳ κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον ἅπασιν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀξιοῦντα σφᾶς περιμένειν, ἔστε μετακληθείη τὸ γύναιον, ἢ συνελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσοντες φιλοπόνως· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχόν τε τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἔτι θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν.

Ῥέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξάμενος ὡς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ἤτει χρήματα, μηνύσειν ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ὁ δέ, οἷόν τι καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honourable and larger reward by going with him to the sea-shore, "where," said he, "my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money." They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared.

A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would

CAP. VI. Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγων ἐποίησεν, ἀντηπεῖλει μηνύσειν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄγοι, μέχρι δέϊσας ὁ ναύκληρος διέσωσεν ἐς Πομπήιον.

49. Μάρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῶν προεγγραπτο μὲν καὶ ὅδε διὰ τόδε, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συλλαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνήσατο Βαρβούλας. δεξιὸν δὲ ὁρῶν ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις καὶ χρήματα διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν ἅπασι καὶ συνετὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ θέρáποντος φύσιν ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις εἴη, περισώσειν ὁμολογήσαντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ γένος ἀναπλάσσοντα καὶ ὄνομα καὶ προτέρους δεσπότης ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίσας ὀκνήσειν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ εἶπετο καὶ ὥς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντῶντων τις φίλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μάρκον ὥς οἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήνυσεν τῷ Βαρβούλῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δι' Ἀγρίππα, καὶ ἀφείθη τῆς προγραφῆς ὁ Μάρκος, καὶ φίλος ἐγίνετο Καίσαρι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἀκτιον. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ ἡ τύχη περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοτέροις· Βαρβούλας τε γὰρ ἡττηθέντος Ἀντωνίου λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος αὐτὸν ὥς ἀγνοῶν ὠνήσατο, ἐκθέμενος δὲ ἅπαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ἤτησέ τε καὶ ἔτυχεν τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμείψασθαι.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

tell how the captain was helping him to escape for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried Rebilus over to Pompeius.

CHAP.
VI

49. Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were proscribed he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula's friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was, and he obtained from Octavian, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavian, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavian and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted.

Adventures
of Marcus
Lollius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
VI

Τοῖσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα παρέμεινεν· ἤρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐν ἄστει οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ. 50. Βαλβίνῳ δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος ἰδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ παρέστη. Μαικῆνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα βουλευσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδί συνεγνωκέναι· Λεπίδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερεώρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικῆνας ἐς Ἀκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, ἵνα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὕσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ἦτει παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο καὶ διωθουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις εἶπεν· “ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπιείκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικί με ἢ παιδί συγγνώμην λέγοντες· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν προέγραψα, κάτω δὲ εἰμι τῶν προγραφέντων. ἀλλ’ ἐς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ σοὶ παρεστῶτα, χάρισαί μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπαντήσιν ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγυωμένῳ ἢ μετ’ ἐκείνης ἀπελθεῖν δεομένῳ.” ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λεπίδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβίνος ἀπέλυσεν τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναῖκα.

51. Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιαύτῃ ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βρούτον

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

This similarity of good fortune attended these two in after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in the city the same year. 50. Balbinus took refuge with Pompeius and was restored with him, and became consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by Octavian and reduced to private life, presented himself to Balbinus under the following stress. Maecenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for high treason against Octavian and also the young man's mother as knowing of the crime. Lepidus himself he overlooked as being a person of no consequence. Maecenas sent the son to Octavian at Actium, but in order to spare his mother the journey on account of her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to the consul for her appearance before Octavian. As nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented himself frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to this effect: "The accusers testify to my innocence, since they say that I was not an accomplice of my wife and son. I did not cause you to be proscribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed. Consider the mutability of human affairs and grant to one, who stands by your side, the favour of becoming security for my wife's appearance before Octavian, or let me go there with her." When Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his reverse of fortune, and released his wife from bail altogether.

51. Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils. From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after

CHAP.
VI
Balbinus
and Lepidus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
VI. καὶ μετὰ Βρούτου ἀποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἐλθὼν τιμῆς παρ' ἑκατέρῳ καὶ στρατηγίας ἡξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν· καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ Ἀκτιον συμφορὰν ἐπιστάλειςαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κικέρων ὅδε ὑπατεύων ἀνέγνω τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα πρότερον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλὴ. Ἀππίος δὲ διένειμε τοῖς θεράπουσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ θεράποντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἀππίον, ὥς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλπίδα μεταφέροντες. καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεῶς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίας Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βρούτον οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τόδε καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχθη καὶ Καίσαρι φίλος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐπιόντι ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι προύθηκεν εἰκόνας Βρούτου καὶ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

VII

CAP.
VII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δόξαν τισὶ τῶν προγραφέντων εἷς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· 52. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμοις διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν ἐδονεῖτο· καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μείζους ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τε Λιβύην

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the latter's death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honoured with a military command. Afterwards Octavian, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed pontifex, and not long afterwards consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavian this same Cicero, as consul, announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached the port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quaestor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavian. Once when Octavian came to visit him Publius displayed some images of Brutus, and Octavian praised him for doing so.

CHAP.
VI

The son
of Cicero
escapes and
is restored
to favour

VII

THE above are some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted. 52. In the meantime, while these transactions were taking place at Rome, all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among

CHAP.
VII

The war
in the
provinces

CAP. VII. Κορνιφικίου πρὸς Σέξστιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπηίου. πάθη τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη πόλεσιν ἐκ δοριαλωσίας, ὑπεριδόντι δὲ τῶν ἐλασσόνων τὰ μέγιστα δὴ καὶ δι' ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περιφανέστατα Λαοδικεῦσι καὶ Ταρσεῦσι καὶ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Παταρεῦσι καὶ Ξανθίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

53. Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι παλαιάν, ὅσην Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο· ἦν δὲ Ἰόβας εἶχεν, ὕστερόν τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαίτου Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νέαν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβύην· εἷη δ' αὖ τῆς Νομαδικῆς. Σέξστιος οὖν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς νέας ἡγούμενος ἦται Κορνιφικίου ἐκστῆναί οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὡς Λιβύης ἀπάσης ἐν τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καίσαρι νενεμημένης. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τὴν λήξιν ἔφη γινώσκειν τῶν τριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένων, οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλῳ μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατὸν δὲ εἶχεν ὁ μὲν βαρύν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος κουφότερόν τε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορνιφικίου περιὼν ἀφίστη καὶ Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγὸν τοῦ Κορνιφικίου, μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμάχετο πολιορκούμενος. ἐδήγου δὲ καὶ Λαίλιος, ἕτερος τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατηγός, τὴν Σεξστίου Λιβύην καὶ Κίρταν περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

these wars was that in Africa between Cornificius and Sextius, that in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and that against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated captures of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these.

53. That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Caesar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa, being appointed by Octavian, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavian in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves, and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash round and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Laelius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it.

CHAP.
VII

Cornificius
and Sextius
in Africa

CAP.
VII

54. Καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας ἔς τε Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Σιττιανούς, οἱ ἀπὸ τοιαύδε συντυχίας οὕτως ὠνομάζοντο. Σίττιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίκην ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑποστὰς ἔφυγε καὶ στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσε καὶ τοῖς Λιβύων βασιλεῦσι πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. αἰὲ δὲ οἷς προσθοῖτο νικῶντων, ὁ Σίττιος ἐπὶ ὀνόματος ἐγγίγνεται, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγύμναστο λαμπρῶς. Γαῖω τε Καίσαρι διώκοντι τοὺς Πομπηιανούς ἐν Λιβύῃ συνεμάχησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν διώνυμον, ἀνεῖλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν Μασανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς. Μασανάσσης δ' ἦν Ἀραβίωνος τοῦδε πατήρ, Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷδε τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ Βόκχῳ, Μαυρουσίων βασιλεῖ, δεδώρητο· καὶ τὸ μέρος ὁ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδιείλεν. Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέφυγε πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Πομπηίου, Γαῖου δὲ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ Λιβύων τινὰς αἰὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπηίῳ πέμπων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόκχον ἀφήρητο τὴν χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνηρήκει δόλῳ. εὐνοὺς δὲ ὦν τοῖς Πομπηιανοῖς διὰ τάδε, κατεγίνωσκεν αἰὲ τῆς μοίρας ὡς ἀτυχοῦσης ἀμειλίκτως καὶ Σεξστίῳ προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοί, κατ' εὐνοίαν οἷδε πατρῶαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

55. Θαρρήσας οὖν ὁ Σέξστιος ἐξῆι τῆς πολιορκίας ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

54. Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians, who received their name from the following circumstance. A certain Sittius, who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial. Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country. As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Caesar pursued the Pompeians to Africa Sittius joined him and destroyed Juba's famous general, Saburra, and received from Caesar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa, not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Caesar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio at that time fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain, but returned to Africa after Caesar's death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men, whom he received back in a state of good training, and so expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favour of Octavian. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Caesar.

CHAP.
VII
Adventures
of Sittius

55. Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by which Ventidius was killed and his army put to

A battle
at Utica

CAP. VII. τοῦ στρατοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἶπετο κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν. καὶ τάδε μαθὼν ὁ Λαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς Κίρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ἦει καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μετὰ πλειόνων ὄντι. Λαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφικίου μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων πέμψαντος ἔς τινα κατάσκειψιν, ὁ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα ἔπεμψεν ἵππομαχεῖν τῷ Λαίλιῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦει μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ἵππομαχίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐθούρει, μέχρι τὸν Λαίλιον οὐχ ἡσσημένον πω δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖν, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ καταλαβεῖν, Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτῶμενον αὐτοῦ κτεῖναί τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλῶσαι. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐξῆει τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, βοηθήσων τῷ Λαίλιῳ· καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξστιος ὀπισθεν γενόμενος ἐξήπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα κακοπαθῶς.

56. Ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις ἀνδράσιν ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κορνιφικίου παρέδου λαθῶν. καὶ Ῥώσκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ, τοῦ χάρακος ἀλίσκομένου, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινι τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε καὶ ἀνῆρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ μάχῃ κάμνων μετεπήδα πρὸς Λαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολωνόν, οὐκ εἰδώς πω περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· μεταπηδῶντα δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος ἱππῆες ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ γιγνόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Λαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καθορῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. When Laelius heard the news he raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius. Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite him, although the latter had the superior force. Cornificius sent Laelius with his cavalry to make a reconnoissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to engage him with his own cavalry in front, and Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion that Laelius, although not vanquished, feared lest his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius saw this he sallied out with the greater part of his force to assist Laelius. Sextius, who was in his rear, dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned upon him and drove him back, although suffering severely.

56. Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved. When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian, offered his throat to one of his assistants and was killed. Cornificius, overcome by the fatigue of the engagement, retired toward Laelius on the hill, not yet knowing what had happened to his camp. While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio charged upon him and killed him, and when Laelius, looking down from the hill, saw what had happened he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the

CHAP.
VII

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
VII. πεσόντων ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν· καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Κορνιφικίῳ, οἱ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δ' ὅπη δύναιντο ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς Σιττιανοὺς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῷ Καίσαρι καθίστατο, συγγινώσκων ἀπάσαις.

VIII

CAP.
VIII. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Σεξτίου καὶ Κορνιφικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεῖ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δόξαντι εἶναι· 57. τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλαμβάνοντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῆρητο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἴκτῳ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἐξήτει τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἡμύνοντο αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν, εὐθὺς δὲ ἐξήεσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνηντο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἤρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεῖσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βροῦτος. οὔτε δὲ ἄρχειν πῶ τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἄστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες ἐξήεσαν ἔτι στρατηγούμεντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians, but the cities he brought into allegiance to Octavian and granted pardon to them all.

CHAP.
VII
End of
the War
in Africa

VIII

THIS was the end of the war in Africa between Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted. 57. Resuming the narrative of Cassius and Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has already been said, in order to refresh the memory. When Caesar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Caesar's funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Caesar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith. Cassius, however, and Brutus were still city praetors, though Cassius had been chosen by Caesar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still praetors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone,

CHAP.
VIII

B.C. 44
Brutus and
Cassius

CAP. VIII. Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίζετο, τῆς βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραίνουσης, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκείνοι στρατὸν καὶ χρήματα ἤγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες.

58. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβώνιον δὲ ἐν Ἀσία κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα καὶ Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου πολιορκοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ βουλή Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βρούτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς τὰς προτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐπανήγαγον καὶ Βρούτῳ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα προσέθεσαν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονεύουσιν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὃ τι κελεύει Κάσσιος ἢ Βρούτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Κάσσιος φθάνει Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δυνάδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατευόμενα καὶ γυμνασμένα προσέλαβεν ἀθρόως· οὐ τὸ μὲν ἐν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν Συρίᾳ καταλελοίπει, τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Καικίλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενής, Σέξστος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιαιτῶμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπήγετο ἀσχημόνως καὶ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ βραδέως ὑπῆκουεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν ἔλκορτας. θορύβου δὲ ἀσχήμονος καὶ πληγῶν ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia.

58. While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Caesar long before. One of these Caesar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Caecilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman. This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the

CHAP.
VIII

B.C. 43

Cassius
raises an
army in
Syria

CAP. VII
ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἢ στρατιὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον συνη-
κόντισε. καὶ εὐθύς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ
Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μὴ τις
αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, διαγωνιεί-
σθαι μέχρι θανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς ταῦτα συνη-
νάγκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἕτερον, συνε-
γύμναζον ἄμφω καὶ Στάϊον Μούρκον, ὑπὸ Καί-
σαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιπεμφθέντα,
γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκῳ δ' ἦκεν ἐπίκουρος
Μάρκιος Κρίσπος ἐκ Βιθυνίας μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν
ἄλλων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιόρκουν ὁμοῦ πάντες
ἕξ τέλεσιν ἤδη.

59. Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολιορκίαν σπουδῇ
καταλαβὼν τὸν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα
παρελάμβανεν ἐκόντα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ Μούρκου
τέλη καὶ Μαρκίου, κατὰ τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόν-
των καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπα-
κούοντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα
πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα
τέλη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσ-
σου διαρριφέντων. ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρα
καταλελειμμένων· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ
Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων οὐ προπεπυσμένον, ἄφνω
περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασε προσθέσθαι οἱ καὶ
παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατὸν, δείσαντα τέσσαρσι
τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος
ἐκ παραδόξου δυνώδεκα τελῶν ἀρίστων ἀθρόως
ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Παρθυαίων ἵπποτο-
ξόται συνεμάχουν, δόξαν ἔχοντι παρὰ τοῖς Παρ-
θυαίοις, ἐξ οὗ Κράσσῳ ταμιεύων ἐμφρονέστερος
ἔδοξε τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

sight of which the army resented, and Julius was shot down. This act was followed straightway by repentance and fear of Caesar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Caesar sent Staius Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcius Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether.

59. Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcius, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate obeyed him in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, or who had been left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quaestor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general.

CHAP.
VIII

He gains
four legions
from Egypt

CAP. 60. Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περὶ τὴν
 VIII Ἰωνίαν, κτείνων Τρεβώνιον καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν
 ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφοράς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ
 μισθῷ διὰ Λευκίου Φίγλου παρά τε Ῥοδίων
 καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας·
 ὥς δέ οἱ τάδε ἔτοιμα ἦν· ἐπήει τῇ Συρίᾳ, κατὰ
 μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελῶν, διὰ
 δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φίγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς
 Κασσίου στρατιᾶς ἐς Λαοδίκειαν οἰκείως ἔχουσάν
 οἱ παρῆλθεν, ἐπὶ τε χερρονήσου συνφοκισμένην καὶ
 τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος
 ἔχουσαν ὄρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσειν τε
 ἀγορὰς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βούλοιτο,
 ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὦν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος
 καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Δολοβέλλας διαφύγοι,
 τὸν τε ἴσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον ὄντα, λίθους καὶ
 πᾶσαν ὕλην ἐξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προαστείων καὶ
 τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε
 Φοινίκην καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Ῥόδον.

61. Ὑπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν
 Σιδωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, καὶ κατέδυ-
 σαν μὲν ἑκατέρου νῆες ἱκαναί, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς
 ἀνδράσιν εἶλεν Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος
 αὐτῆς ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς
 Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐς
 Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ στρατη-
 γοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀράδιοι καὶ Σεραπίων,
 οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθῶν, ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ
 ναῦς, ὅσας εἶχον· ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ Κασσίῳ μὲν
 προύφερε λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε
 Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καί-
 σαρὸς συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. καὶ ἀπὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

60. Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, where he put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When all was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land himself, while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea, a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phoenicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.

61. Being ignored by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, not waiting to consult Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really co-operating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Caesar. This

CHAP.
VIII
Cassius
marches
against
Dolabella

CAP. VII. τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη προπεπόμφει δι' Ἀλλιηνοῦ καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἕτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν, ἄνεμοι δὲ ἐπεῖχον. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Λύκιοι οὔτε Κασσίῳ οὔτε Βρούτῳ συμμαχήσειν ἔφασκον ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δολοβέλλα δοῦναι ναῦς προπομπούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέναι συμμαχοῦσας.

62. Ἐτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐθις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δις τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ναυμαχία ἡσᾶτο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αἰρομένου τοῦ χώματος ἔκοπτεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τεῖχος ἥδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν. τὸν τε νυκτοφύλακα αὐτοῦ Μάρσον οὐ δυνηθεὶς διαφθεῖραι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἡμεροφυλακοῦντας αὐτῷ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἀναπαυομένους τοῦ Μάρσου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθεῖσών αὐτῷ πνυλίδων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν Δολοβέλλας πρῶτον τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ σωματοφύλακι αὐτοῦ καὶ τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Κασσίῳ σῶστρον ἴδιον· ὁ δὲ τεμὼν ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, διεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ Μάρσος ἑαυτόν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν μὲν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατιὰν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου, Λαοδικέων δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐσύλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκόλαζε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφοραῖς βαρυτάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήνεγκεν ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

63. Μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὥρμα, πυνθανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ διαπλευσεῖσθαι πρὸς τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν δὲ κωλύσαί τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

was the reason why she had sent him the four legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war.

62. When Cassius had again made such preparations as he could with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella's walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to bribe Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force, and while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight through a number of small gates that were secretly opened to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his private sentry and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella's army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

63. After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavian and Antony with a strong fleet, he proposed to prevent its

CHAP.
VIII

He captures
Laodicea

Dolabella
killed

CAP.
VIII

τίσασθαι τῆς γνώμης τὴν βασιλίδαν καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνθυμιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολλὸν ἔχουσαν, ἄρτι τῶν Ἀλλιηνοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βρούτος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὥς ἤδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἰόνιον περώντων. ἄκων μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίων ἵπποτοξότας ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἔστελλε περὶ μείζονος συμμαχίας, ἣ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐν Συρίᾳ μεθ' ἑνὸς τέλους ἀπέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προὔπεμψεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, οἱ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίῳ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπανήγαγον.

64. Ταρσέων δ' ἐς στάσιν διηρημένων οἱ μὲν τὸν Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐπελθόντα· ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως σχήματι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. καὶ παραλλὰξ αὐτῶν προτιμώντων ἐκάτερον, ὥς εὐμεταβόλῳ πόλει χαλεπῶς ἐχρῶντο ἐκάτεροι. Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντές τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ἀπαιτούμενοι σὺν ὕβρει, τὰ τε κοινὰ ἀπεδίδοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favourable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavian and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighbouring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

CHAP.
VIII

Brutus
informs
Cassius that
Octavian
and Antony
are crossing
the
Adriatic

64. The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honours upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitefully as a fickle-minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with violence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred articles used in religious processions

Cassius
captures
Tarsus

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
VIII. εἶχον ἐς πομπὰς ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδενὸς δὲ μέρους οὐδ' ὥς ἀννομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένοι τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναῖκες τε καὶ γέροντες ἑλεεινοί, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὄνιοι, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. καὶ διεχρῶντο οἱ πλείονες ἑαυτούς, ἕως ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Κᾶσσιος ἐκ Συρίας ἐπανιῶν ὥκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφορῶν ἀπέλυσε.

IX

CAP.
IX. 65. Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λαοδίκεια τοιάδε ἐπεπόνθεσαν, Κᾶσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος συμβολήσαντες ἀλλήλοιν, Βρούτῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλίσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἔργον ἐς Μακεδονίαν· τέλη τε γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυθέναι τὸν Ἰόνιον ὀκτώ· Κασσίῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἔτι περιορᾶν ὥς τριφθησομένων ἐν σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Λυκίους ἐξελεῖν, εὖνους τε ὄντας ἐκείνοις καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι γίγνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν ὧδε, ἐχώρουν Βρούτος μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κᾶσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὥς δὲ κρατίστοις τὰ ναυτικὰ ἀνδράσι συνοισόμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν Μύνδῳ.

66. Ῥοδίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χεῖρας ἵεναι, ὁ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and the temple offerings into money. As this was not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea.

CHAP.
VIII

IX

65. WHEN Brutus and Cassius had their conference, Brutus was in favour of uniting their armies and making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away of themselves for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavian and Antony, who had fleets, lest they should fall on the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus.

CHAP.
IX
Cassius
summons
Rhodes to
surrender

66. The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the

CAP. IX. δὲ λεὼς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων πρὸς οὐχ ὁμοίους ἀνδράς ἐμνημόνευον. ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον τὰς ἀρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε πρᾶσσοντες ἔπεμπόν τινας ἐς Μύνδον ὅμως, οἱ τὸν Κάσσιον ἠξίουν μήτε Ῥόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης αἰετὸς τοὺς καταφρονήσαντας, μήτε συνθηκῶν, αἱ Ῥοδίοις εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους· εἰ δέ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο, ἐθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθέσθαι, καὶ κελευούσης ἔφασαν συμμαχήσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ λόγων ἔφη κρινεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπεννηνοχέαι Ῥοδίους Κασσίῳ, Δολοβέλλα συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλοις συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίῳ δὲ δεομένῳ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἀλωμένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει τυράννους, οἱ δώσουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ δίκας, δώσουσι δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὰ ἐκείνων προτιμῶντες, ἣν μὴ θᾶσσον ἀνέχωνται τῶν κελευομένων. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτοὺς ἡμείψατο, καὶ οἱ εὖ φρονούντες Ῥοδίων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔδημαγώγουν Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσειε τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

common people were in high spirits, because they recalled former victories achieved over men of different character.¹ They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they nevertheless sent messengers to Myndus to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance.

CHAP.
IX
The
Rhodians
resolve
to fight

When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still larger fleet, and that Demetrius had done so before him.

¹ Demetrius Poliorketes (B.C. 307) and Mithridates (B.C. 88), who are referred to presently.

CAP.
IX

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἴλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέα, 67. ἔπεμπον δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγέννητο τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἤδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λιπαρέστερον· καὶ ἐδεῖτο, τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος, ὡς γνωρίμων. “ μὴ πόλιν ἀναστήσης Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλλην ἀνὴρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερος ἀνὴρ· μηδὲ αἰσχύνης ἀξίωμα Δώριον, οὐχ ἡσσημένον, ἐξ οὗ γεγόναμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλάβη καλῆς ἱστορίας ἧς ἔμαθες ἐν Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μὲν, ὅσα Ῥόδιοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθριδάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ σὺ φῆς τάδε κάμνειν· ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέ, ὅσα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἐτέρων καὶ κατ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχήσαμεν, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι στήλαι παρ' ὑμῖν.

“ Τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἔνεκα καὶ ἀξιώσεως ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἀδουλώτου καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθω. 68. πρὸς σέ δέ, ὦ Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδώς τις ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφήν τέ σου καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ διατριβὴν καὶ ἐστίαν, ἣν ὥκησας, καὶ τοῦμόν διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμέ, ἐλπίσαντα μὲν ἐς ἕτερα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μηδ' αὐτῇ σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζεται πεπαιδευμένῳ τε ὑφ' αὐτῆς καὶ τεθραμμένῳ μηδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Thereupon they elected Alexander as president, CHAP. IX who is the magistrate exercising the supreme power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their fleet. 67. Nevertheless, they sent still another ambassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes, to present a more earnest petition. This he did, taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar manner, and saying, "O friend of the Greeks, do not destroy a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not destroy Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget the famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome—at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending—at Rome, our services to you, among others those that were rendered when we fought with you against Antiochus the Great, concerning which you have monuments inscribed in our honour.

They send Archelaus as an ambassador to Cassius

"So much, Romans, for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our good-will toward you. 68. As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated, lived, and had your homes, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me who hoped that I should some time plume myself on your education with different expectations, but I am now pleading this relation in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where one of two things must necessarily happen: either

CAP.
IX. θάτερον, ἢ Ῥοδίους ἀποθανεῖν πάντως ἢ Κάσσιον ἡσσᾶσθαι. συμβουλεύω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει, τοιῶνδὲ σε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀπτόμενον ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς ἔργου. θεοὺς δ' ὠμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἔναγχος διὰ Γαίου Καίσαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐσπένδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐτίθεσθε, αἱ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις ἰσχύουσιν, οὐ παρὰ φίλοις καὶ τροφεῦσιν; φείδου δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξης τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους· ὥς οὐδέν ἐστι συνηκῶν παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ὃ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀπίστους ἐς ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίοις.”

69. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μεθίετο τῆς χειρός, ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυνεν αὐτῇ, ὥς ἐρυθριάσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, ὑφελόντα δὲ ὅμως εἰπεῖν· “εἰ μὲν οὐ συνεβούλευσας Ῥοδίοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν με, σύ με ἡδίκηεις· εἰ δὲ διδάσκων οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμυνῶ σοι. ἡδικοῦμένην δὲ δὴ που σαφῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν καὶ παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδευσάντων καὶ θρεψάντων, τὸ δὲ ἑξῆς προτιμώντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὃν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ὑνιαιρότερον, ἐμοῦ μὲν καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὅσων ὁρᾶτε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθερούντων, ὧ Ῥόδιοι φιλε-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

that the Rhodians perish utterly, or that you, ^{CHAP.} Cassius, be defeated. In addition to my entreaty ^{IX} I give you the advice that while engaged in such important tasks in behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when you recently concluded the treaty with us through Gaius Caesar, and to the oaths you added libations and gave the right hand, assurances valid even among enemies; shall they not be valid among friends and guardians? Besides dreading the judgment of the gods, have regard for the opinions of mankind, who consider nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies."

69. When the old man had thus spoken he did not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough. The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and was slighted by my instructors and guardians. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavouring to liberate their

Reply of
Cassius

CAP. IX. λεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ αὐτὴν καταδουλοῦντος
 ἑτέροις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εὖνως ἔχοντες ὑποκρί-
 νεσθε ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν. ἔστι δὲ
 ἐμφύλια μὲν, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυναστείας ὠρεγόμεθα,
 πόλεμος δὲ σαφὴς τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἐστι δημοκρατίας
 πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοήθητον
 καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας·
 φιλίαν τε Ῥωμαίοις προφέροντες οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε
 ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφο-
 μένους, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς
 τῆς ταῦτα πασχούσης καὶ οὐδὲ ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῇ πῶ
 δυναμένης. ἡ δ' ὑμῖν ἤδη προαπεκρίνατο, ἐν οἷς
 ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν ἔω πάντας ἀμύνειν
 ἐμοί τε καὶ Βρούτῳ.

70. Σὺ δέ, εἰ μὲν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τι
 συνεπράξατε, ὦν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μισθοὺς ἀντικε-
 κόμισθέ που, καταλογίζῃ, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν
 ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένοις οὐ συμ-
 μαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνῃ· οὐς εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν
 ἡμῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄρχειν
 ἐθέλοντὰς ὑπερμαχῆσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρα-
 τίας, Δωριέας ὄντας. οἱ δ' ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἔργων
 καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε, γενό-
 μένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γάιον Καίσαρα,
 τῇσδε τῆς μοναρχίας ἡγεμόνα· λέγουσι δ' ὁμως
 αἱ συνθήκαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐν ταῖς
 χρεαῖαις ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ
 μέγιστα κινδυνεύουσι Ῥωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν
 ἐστὶν ὁ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ἐπὶ
 συμμαχίαν καλῶν, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων
 στρατηγός, ὥς φησι τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν
 ᾧ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν ἔταξε τοὺς τοῦ Ἰουίου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favour while pretending to abstain from our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who are sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself.

70. "Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped abundant benefactions and rewards) you remind us of, but that in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you lose sight of. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, now at least to begin to fight as volunteers for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties—treaties made with you by Gaius Caesar, the founder of the present monarchy—yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war—Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate's decree says, all the countries beyond the Adriatic are required to

CAP.
IX. πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βροῦτος ὑμῖν προτείνει
ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπήιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ
τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμμένος, τὰς δ' ἰκετείας ἐπὶ
τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἶδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν
ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βροῦτον, οἱ
δ' ἐς Πομπήιον. ἔστι δὲ δὴ πού το συγκείμενον,
Ῥωμαίοις Ῥοδίου βοηθεῖν, καὶ καθ' ἓνα χρή-
ζωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὔτε στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς οὔτε Ῥω-
μαίους ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἢ ξένους ἢ κατακρίτους,
ὥς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ πρὸς
ἡμᾶς ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὧ
Ῥόδιοι, τὰ συγκείμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένοι καὶ ἀλλό-
τριοι τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἣν
μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακούητε.”

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρωνευσάμενος τὸν
Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέλυνεν, 71. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ
Μνασέας, οἱ Ῥοδίῳ ἡγούμενοι, ταῖς τριάκοντα
καὶ τρισὶ ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς
Μύνδον ὡς προκαταπλήξοντες τῷ ἐπίπλω· καί
τί πού καὶ κούφως εἶχον ἐλπίδος, ὅτι καὶ Μιθρι-
δάτῃ ἐς Μύνδον ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ
τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εὐτυχῆσαι. εἰρεσία δὲ ἐς
ἐπίδειξιν χρώμενοι τὴν τε πρώτην ἡμέραν ηὐλί-
σαντο ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεφαίνοντο
τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ
θαυμάσαντες ἀντανήγοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν
ἐκατέρωθεν ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυνάμεως· Ῥόδιοι μὲν
γὰρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεον τε τοὺς πολεμίους
ὀξέως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδοις ἐχρῶντο,
Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν,
ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ῥύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὥσπερ ἐν πεζο-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you unless you obey our orders in everything.”

With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away. 71. Meanwhile Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that it was at Myndus by sailing against Mithridates they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and capacity on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy's line, turned around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater momentum.

CHAP.
IX

Sea-fight
between
Cassius
and the
Rhodians

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. IX. *μαχία.* τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πολεμίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν Ῥόδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι καὶ διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἥ μὲν ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυκλευμένοις, αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς βαρυτέρας τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγίγνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦσαν ἐς κουφοτέρας εὐτονοι, μέχρι Ῥόδιαι μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ δύο ἀνερράγησάν τε καὶ κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαι μὲν ἐπανήλθον ἐς Μύνδον, ἐπεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων αἱ πλέονες βλαβεῖσαι.

72. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύνδῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ῥοδίων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνομένην ὁ Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὄρους καθεώρα· ὥς δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Λώρυμα, Ῥοδίων τι φρσύριον ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον διεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων ὑπὸ Φαννίῳ τε καὶ Λέντλῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέπλει ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον καὶ περιστήσας τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸ πεζὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἡσύχαζεν ὥς ἐνδωσόντων τι τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὐθις εὐθαρσῶς, δύο δὲ καὶ τότε ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν. καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη πάντα τε ὀπλῶν ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φάννιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τοῖς πρὸς θαλάσση τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they had been confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements¹ against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part of them also having suffered injury.

CHAP.
IX

The
Rhodians
retreat

72. Such was the result of the naval engagement of the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched the fight while it was going on from a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus. He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius,

Cassius lays
siege to
the city

¹ ἀποσίμωσις was apparently a swerving out of the line to avoid direct attack.

CAP.
IX. οὐκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα· ἐλπί-
ζων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγ-
μένους, οἳ τότε ἀνίσταντο. Ῥόδος μὲν δὴ δύο
πεύραις καμουσα ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολι-
ορκεῖτο· καὶ οὐδέν, ὥς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεῖ καὶ ἀδοκῆτῳ,
παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν. ὅθεν ἦν
εὐδηλον ἀλώσεσθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἢ χερσὶν
ἢ λιμῷ· καὶ τάδε Ῥοδίων οἱ συνετώτεροι καθεώ-
ρων, καὶ Φάννιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Λέντλος διελέγοντο.

73. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ἄφνω Κάσσιος
ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μετ' ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ,
βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἔργου.
εἵκαζον δὲ οἱ πολλοί, καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, τοὺς
χαρίεντας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπανοῖξαι πυλίδας
ἐλέῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προμηθεῖα τροφῶν.

ᾧ δὲ μὲν ἐαλῶκει Ῥόδος, καὶ Κάσσιος ἐν αὐτῇ
προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι
παρεστήσατο ὥς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῖν τε
κελεύσας τὸν στρατὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάνατον
ἐπικηρύξας, εἴ τις ἄρπάσειεν ἢ βιάσαιτό τι, αὐτὸς
ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλει Ῥοδίων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας
καὶ ἀχθέντας ἐκόλαζε θανάτῳ· ἐτέροις δέ, ἀμφὶ
τοὺς πέντε καὶ· εἴκοσιν, οὐχ εὐρεθείσι φυγὴν
ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ
ἄργυρος ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα
συλῆσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς
κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν· καὶ ἐπεκήρυξε
τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασι θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

who was advancing his naval force, prepared for wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with him turrets in sections, which were then elevated. Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats, beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it became evident that the city must speedily be taken either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent of the Rhodians perceived this and opened communications with Fannius and Lentulus.

73. While this was going on Cassius suddenly made his appearance in the midst of the city with a chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as seems the fact, that those of the citizens who were favourable to him had opened the small gates, being moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of famine.

CHAP.
IX

Rhodes
captured
and put
under
contri-
bution

Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side of it to indicate that he had taken the city by the spear. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to remain quiet, and threatening with death any who should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by name about fifty citizens, and when they were brought, put them to death. Others, who were not found, numbering about twenty-five, he ordered to be banished. All the money that was found, either gold or silver, in the temples and the public treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens who had any to bring it to him on a day named, proclaiming death to those who should conceal it,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
IX. δεκάτην, δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυψαν, οὐκ ἐς τέλος ἐλπίζοντες ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν· διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν καὶ κολαζομένων τῶν μηνυομένων ἔδεισάν τε καὶ προσθεσμίαν ἑτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλέονα τῶν προτέρων.

74. Αἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥοδίων συμφοραὶ τοιαίδε ἦσαν, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐᾶρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὑπελέλειπτο· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἠδόμενος τῇ ταχυεργίᾳ τῆς ἀλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπέταττεν ὅμως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπράσσοντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεοπάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον· τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων αἴρουμένη καὶ τέως διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ἠρεῖτο διὰ τὸν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβον. ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετὰ τε ὀπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπε ναυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταΐναρον, . . . περισυράμενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λείαν, ὅσην ἔφθασε.

X

CAP.
X. 75. Τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαμβάνοντι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

together with a reward of one-tenth to informers CHAP. IX and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At first many concealed what they had, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when they saw the rewards paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having procured the appointment of another day, some of them dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than the former collections.

74. Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet, heavily provisioned, to Octavian and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Caesar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighbourhood of Taenarum; [and this he did] collecting as much booty as he could come upon from the Peloponnese. Ten years' tribute exacted from Asia

" X

75. WE will now relate the transactions of Brutus CHAP. X in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned

CAP.
X. ἄνωθεν, ἣν τοιάδε· ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου στρατιάν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, ὅσῃν Ἀπουλήιος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρ-
ἦλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. ψηφισαμένης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, Οὐατινίου τοῦ πρό-
τερον ἄρχοντος Ἰλλυριῶν παραδόντος, ἐν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαῖῳ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἱππέων πλῆθος καὶ ψιλῶς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἥσκει τρόπον. ἀγείρουσι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θράκιος τοιάδε γίγνεται. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνή
τινος τῶν βασιλίσκων, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἔτι ὄντι μεираκίῳ, ἦκεν αὐτὸν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θη-
σαυροὺς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα Κυζικηνοῖς ἀνα-
τρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι σχολάσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὔρε
παράδοξον χρυσίου τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔκοπτε καὶ νόμισμα ἐποίει· 76.
ὥς δὲ ἦλθέ τε ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἔδοξε Λυκίους καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

above in order to refresh the memory. When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Boeotia. The Senate having voted that he should use this money for his present necessities and that he should have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in addition, he came into possession of the three legions of the army which were in Illyria, which Vatinius, the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him. Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Caesar. He had a large force of cavalry, light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he drilled them in the Roman way. While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, whose husband had been killed by his enemies, being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband's treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver.

This he coined and converted into currency. 76. When Cassius came, and it was decided to begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus

CHAP.

X

Brutus in
Macedonia

CAP.
X Ροδίους προεξαίρειν, ἐτράπετο Λυκίων ἐπὶ Ξαν-
θίους πρώτους. οἱ δὲ τὰ τε προάστεια σφῶν
καθεῖλον, ἵνα μὴ ἐς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρούτος
μηδ' ἐς ὕλην ἔχη χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιτα-
φρεύσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου, τὸ μὲν
βάθος οὕσης πεντήκοντα ποδῶν βαθυτέρας, τὸ δὲ
πλάτος κατὰ λόγον τοῦ βάθους, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὴν
ἐστῶτες ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον ὥσπερ ἐν μέσῳ
ποταμὸν ἔχοντες ἀπέρατον. ὁ δὲ Βρούτος αὐτὴν
ἔχον βιαζόμενος καὶ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ἐργαζο-
μένων προυτίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἡμέραν καὶ
νύκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὕλην μακρόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐν
τοῖς ἀγῶσι, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ μετέφερεν, οὐδὲν
ἐκλείπων σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον
ἐλπισθὲν ἢ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι κωλύόντων τῶν πολε-
μίων ἢ πολλοῖς μῆσι μόλις ἔσεσθαι, ὀλίγαις
ἡμέραις ἐξείργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι κατακλεισθέν-
τες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.

77. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρούτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανη-
μάτων εἰς τὰ τείχη, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπήγεν ἐπὶ
τὰς πύλας καὶ πάντας ἐνήλλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ
ἀκμήσιν αἰεὶ κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρω-
μένοι πάντες, ὅμως ὑπέμενον, ἕως σφίσιν αἱ
ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ κατεσύρησαν
καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερρώγεσαν, ὑποτοπήσας τὸ ἐσό-
μενον ὁ Βρούτος ἐκέλευσε τὰς ἐφέδρους τῶν
πυλῶν τάξεις ἀποστῆναι· καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι νομίσαν-
τες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι νυκτὸς ἐξέ-
δραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα.
ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐπιδραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὐθις ἐς τὰς πύλας·
καὶ τῶν φυλάκων αὐτὰς προαποκλεισάντων ὑπὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

turned his attention first to the inhabitants of CHAP. X.
Xanthus in Lycia. The latter destroyed their He marches against Xanthus
suburbs in order that Brutus might not effect a
lodgment or find material there. They also sur-
rounded the city with a trench and embankment of
more than fifty feet vertically and of corresponding
breadth, from which they fought, so that standing
upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as
though protected by an impassable river. Brutus
invested the place, pushed forward mantlets for his
men, divided his army into day and night forces,
brought up material from long distances, hurrying
and cheering them on as if for prizes, and spared
neither zeal nor labour. So the work which it
seemed most likely could not be done at all in the
face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of
many months, was accomplished by him in a few
days, and the Xanthians were now subjected to close
siege.

77. Brutus attacked them now with battering-
rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the Desperate defence of the place
gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing
continually. The defenders being always pitted
against fresh soldiers although fatigued, and all
wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their
parapets remained. When these were battered
down and the towers broken through, Brutus, fore-
seeing what would happen, ordered those who were
attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians,
thinking that the enemy's works were deserted
and unguarded, darted out by night with torches
to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans
attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to
the gates, the guards of which closed them before

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^X δέους, μὴ συνεσπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, φθόρος ἦν Ξανθίων πολὺς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀποκεκλεισμένων.

78. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐξέδραμον αὖθις οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀναχωρούσης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἅπαντα ἀθρόως. πεπετασμένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἐτέροις δὲ εἰσωθιζομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἵσοδον ἐπέπεσον αἰφνίδιον αἱ πύλαι, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξανθίων εἴτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγέντων, ὥστε τῶν ἐσβιασμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἔνδον ἀποληφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ἀνασπάσαι, χωρὶς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ξανθίων, βιασάμενοί ποτε μόλις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν διέδραμον· κἀνταῦθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξευόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τόξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, διέδραμον. οἱ δ' ἔξω τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ δεδιότες, Βρούτου περιθέοντος αὐτούς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πείραν, οὔτε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας, οὔτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπεπρησμένων εὐποροῦντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδιάζον κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τείχεσι προστιθέντες ὥς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδήρια ὀξέα καλωδίους περιτιθέντες ἐσφεν-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush in with them—and so there was round the gates a great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out.

CHAP
X

78. Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they set fire to all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis without hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under heavy volleys of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge by the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every expedient, Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls and climbed up as if by ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled

CAP.
X δόνων τὰ σιδήρια ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καί, ὅτε καταπαγείη τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνίμων.

79. Οἰνοανδεῖς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξανθίους ἔχθραν τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπετροβάτουν ἄνω καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμιμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδας ἀνέωξαν, ἥ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους αἰωρουμένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἔκοπτον, οὐ περιβεβλημένας ἔτι τῷ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός, ἀντικοπτόντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἔξωθεν ἐτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργούντων. Ξανθίων δὲ σὺν μεγάλῃ πάνυ βοῇ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὖσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιθεόντων, δέισαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἐνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς ἔκοπτον, ὑπὸ μανιώδους ὁρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι, δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβολον εἴη τοῖς ἐντὸς οὖσιν.

80. Ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλτατα σφῶν κατέκαινον, ἐκόντα τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γιγνομένης ὁ Βρούτος νομίσας ἀρπαγὴν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνεῖργε διὰ κηρύκων· ὥς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ γιγνόμενον, ᾤκτειρὲν ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπονδὰς περιέπεμπε. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρὰς προνενησμένας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

them up to the walls, and whenever one of them caught fast they climbed up.

CHAP.
X

79. The Oenandians, who were neighbours of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of the crags. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to hack at the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others joined in hacking it from outside, to help them. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without, who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

Capture of
Xanthus

80. When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set

The
Xanthians
destroy the
city and
themselves

CAP. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἄφαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαξαν.
X Βροῦτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα ἐδύνατο, μόνους θεράποντας εἶλε Ξανθίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυναῖα ὀλίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας.

Ξάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλ-
λυντο ἐλευθερίας οὐνεκα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατηγούντος, ὧδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθειραν, καὶ τάφος Ξανθίοις ἢ πόλις ἀνειληθείσιν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου φασὶν ὅμοια παθεῖν, οὐχ ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τοσῆσδε γῆς ἀρχὴν ὑπακοῦσαι.

81. Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατήει, πόλιν ἑοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακούειν ἢ τὰς Ξανθίων συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι· προσή-
γοντό τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Ξάνθιοι ὀδυρόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα καὶ παραινοῦντες ἀμείνονα βουλεύσασθαι. Ξαν-
θίοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων πῶ τῶν Παταρέων, ἐδίδου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα προσῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐβόων ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῳγνυον. ὁ δ' ἐσελθὼν ἔκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἐξήλασε, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον ἢ πόλις εἶχε, συνενεγκὼν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ζημίαις καὶ μηνύμασιν,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. CHAP. X
Brutus saved such of the temples as he could, but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free women and hardly 150 men.

Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city then became the tomb of the Xanthians hemmed in by Harpagus; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.

81. Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Patarans cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and

Capture
of Patara

CAP.
X. οἷοις καὶ Κάσσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσέφερον, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐμήνυσε χρυσίου κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ χρυσίου ἔδειξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἀπάντων ὁ μὲν δεσπότης ἐσιώπα, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισφύζουσα τὸν υἱὸν εἶπετο, βοῶσα αὐτῇ τὸ χρυσίου κρύψαι. ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερωτώμενος, τὴν μὲν ἤλεγχε ψευδομένην, τὸν δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πάθους καὶ μεθῆκεν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι τὸ χρυσίου φερομένους, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην ὡς πέρα τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπιβουλευσαντα τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐκρέμασε.

82. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκῃ Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ τήν τε ἄλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνῆει. Μυρέων δέ, ἃ προσέτασσε, δεχόμενων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπανῆει. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπρέσβευε, συμμαχήσειν τε ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ ἐσοίσειν, ὅσα δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσφοράς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπεδίδου τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἐκέλευε περιπλεῖν ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἦγε καὶ Κάσσιον ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἀνέμενεν, ὡς ἐς Σηστὸν ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦντες. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεοπάτταν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀμφὶ τῇ Λιβύῃ βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ ναυάγια εἶδε μέχρι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἀρρωστίᾳ μόλις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius CHAP. X at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave testified that his master had concealed his gold and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed with her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with his mother's grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for officious zeal in accusing his superiors.

82. At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbour and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus; where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had

Murcus
sails to
Brun-
dusium to
blockade
Antony

CAP. X. αὐτὴν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐπανιοῦσαν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπραξίας εἷη μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσόν ὀρμισάμενος ἐκώλυε τὴν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιὰν ἢ ἀγορὰν ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακραῖς, ὅσαις εἶχεν, ὀλίγαις· ἀπεμάχετο δὲ καὶ πύργοις, οὓς ἐπήγευ ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, ὅτε τὸν στρατὸν ὀλκάσιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολὺ φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβάνοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μούρκου. κακοπαθῶν δὲ ἐκάλει Καίσαρα, Πομπηίῳ Σέξστῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

XI

CAP. XI. 83. Ὡς δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπηίου. νεώτερος ὢν ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπηίου παίδων ὑπερώφθη μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς οὐδὲν μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἤλᾱτο περὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ληστεύων σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ λανθάνων, ὅτι εἷη Πομπηῖος. πλεόνων δὲ ἐς τὸ ληστεύειν αὐτῷ συνιόντων χεὶρ τε ἦν ἤδη καρτερὰ καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο Πομπηῖος ὢν. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγονότες ἤλῳντο, ὡς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα συνέτρεχον, καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετ' αὐτῷ, ἀφηρημένος τὰ πατρῶα, ὥς μοι προεΐρηται. ὧς δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἦν ἤδη ληστηρίου δυνατώτερα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

returned home with difficulty and in ill-health, he sailed for Brundisium in order that he might not be idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at the island lying opposite the harbour, and prevented the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought him with the few war-ships that he had, and with towers which he mounted on floats, whenever he sent out detachments of his army on transports, waiting for a strong wind from the land, in order that they might not be captured by Murcus. As he fared badly he called for help from Octavian, who was contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island.

CHAP.
X

XI

83. WITH Pompeius the situation was as follows. Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was at first disregarded by Gaius Caesar in Spain as not likely to accomplish anything of importance on account of his youth and inexperience. He roamed about the ocean with a few followers, committing piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius. When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed his name. Presently those who had served with his father and his brother, and who were leading a vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader, and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him from Africa. His forces being thus augmented, his doings were now more important than robbery, and

CHAP.
XI
B.C. 45
Doings of
Sextus
Pompeius
in Spain

CAP.
XI καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εὐρυτάτην ἐθνῶν οὖσαν, περιθέοντός τε καὶ μεθιπταμένου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας οὐχ ὑπομένοντος ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι. ὢν ὁ Γάιος πυνθανόμενος ἔπεμπε σὺν στρατῷ πλέονι Καρρίναν ἐκπολεμήσοντα Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, κουφότερος ὢν, ἐπεφαίνετο ἄφνω καὶ ἀφιπτάμενος ἡνώχλει καὶ πόλεις ἤδη τινὰς ἤρει βραχυτέρας τε καὶ μείζους.

84. Καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἔπεμψε τῷ Καρρίνῳ διάδοχον Ἀσίγιον Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν Πομπηίῳ. ὃν τινα πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὃ τε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνηρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατεκάλει Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ γενόμενος περιεσκόπει ἔτι τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. αἰρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄρχειν, καθὰ ἤρχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ὡς ἀνήλθεν, ὅσαι δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβὼν ἐξέπλευσε σὺν αἷς εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνικὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι προγράφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἰρτιὸς τε καὶ Φάννιος ἐπεισαν ἐκστῆναι Πομπηίῳ Βιθυνικὸν Σικελίας.

85. Ὡς δὲ μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ναὺς ἔχων καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ στρατὸν ἤδη πολύν, ὅσον τε πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ὅσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἢ δούλον ἡγον ἢ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐς ἐπινίκια τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελλόμεναι.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius spread through the whole of Spain, which was the most extensive of the provinces; but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Caesar. When Caesar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small.

84. Then Caesar sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on warfare on equal terms, Caesar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but taking what ships he found in the harbours, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius.

85. In this way Pompeius possessed himself of Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before and those who had fled from Rome, both freedmen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for

CHAP.
XI

B.C. 44

B.C. 43

He sails
to Sicily

B.C. 42

CAP. XI. ταῖς γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις αἶδε μάλιστα τὴν νίκην τῶν
 τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο καί, ὅσα δύναιντο, κρύφα
 ἀντέπρασσον· ἀποδιδράσκοντές τε τῶν πατρίδων
 ὡς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυνάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς
 Πομπήιον, ἀγχοτάτω τε ὄντα καὶ περιφίλητον
 ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε. παρήσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
 ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἔμπειροι
 θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ ἡγεμόσι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ
 πεζῷ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπήρτο. καὶ
 τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήκοος ὢν ἔπεμπε Σαλουι-
 δινηνὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν στόλου, Πομπήιον ὡς εὐχερὲς
 ἔργον ἐξελεῖν παραπλέοντα· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦει διὰ
 τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς αὐτῷ Σαλουιδινηῷ συμβολήσων
 περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουιδινηῷ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπαντᾷ
 μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμαχίας
 ἀμφὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ
 Πομπήιου νῆες, κουφότεραί τε οὔσαι καὶ ναυτικω-
 τέρων ἀνδρῶν, ταχυτήτι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προὔχον, αἱ
 δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν.
 ὡς δ' ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίγνετο
 καὶ διεσπᾶτο ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ,
 οἱ μὲν ἦσσαν ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος,
 οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαλουιδινηόν, οὔτε ἐστώτες
 βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀηθείας οὔτε τὰς κώπας ἔτι ἀναφέ-
 ρειν δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πηδάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθῇ,
 συνεταράσσοντο, ὥστε κλίνοντος ἐς δείλην ἐσπέραν
 ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σαλουιδινηὸς ἀνεκάλει.
 ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος. νῆες δὲ ἐκατέρων
 ἴσαι διεφθάραι, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λελωβημένας τε

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever they could do against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavian learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet, as though it were an easy task, to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, while he himself passed through Italy with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllaeum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, laboured heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current the crews of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters; while those of Salvidienus, not having their sea-legs through want of experience, and being unable to work their oars, or manage their rudders, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the

CHAP.
XI

Sea-fight
between
Pompeius
and
Salvidienus

CAP. καὶ πεπονημένους ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑπο-
 XI χωρήσας ἐς λιμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ Βαλαρόν.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν Ῥηγίνοις μὲν καὶ Ἰππωνεύσι μεγάλας πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ἀναλύσειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων (ἔδεδίει γὰρ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μάλιστα), καλοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων Σικελίαν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος, μικρὸν ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, τὰς ὀλκάδας ἐφύλασσε ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου διαφερούσας. αἱ δὲ προεπέμποντο μὲν ὑπὸ τριήρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ κατὰ θεὸν οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἀδεῶς, οὐδὲν τῶν προπομπῶν δεηθεῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ὁμως ἐφήδρευεν ἐπανιούσαις κεναῖς. αἱ δὲ καὶ τότε, καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἄγουσαι, διέπλεον ἰστίοις στρογγύλοις, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονων βεβλάφθαι νομίζων, ὑπέμενε ὁμως τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλεύσας παρασκευὰς ἢ τροφὰς ἢ τὸν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον στρατὸν βλέπτων, ὅσα δύναιτο. καὶ αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον, ὡς χρησιμώτατον δὴ, μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους ἐτέρου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

straits, where he repaired what was left of his damaged and wasted fleet.

CHAP.
XI

86. When Octavian arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the straits. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundisium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavian, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundisium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavian, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundisium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favourable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavian and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Donitius Ahenobarbus¹ was sent by Brutus and Cassius to co-operate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for as the

Octavian
and Antony
cross the
Adriatic

¹ This was the son of Caesar's enemy of the same name who was killed at Pharsalus.

CAP. ^{XI} καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐπέμφθη· ὥς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τροφὰς δαψιλεῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἐδόκει τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διακλείσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυσί τε μακραῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ὑπηρετικαῖς πλέοσι καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ διαπλέοντες ἠνώχλουν, 87. Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ Νωρβανός οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτῶ τελῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Θράκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ἥ μόνη διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν γνῶριμον ὁδόν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου περάσασι, πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Ῥασκούπολις δὲ καὶ Ῥάσκος ἦστην ἀδελφῷ Θρακίῳ βασιλίσκῳ, μιᾶς ἄρχοντε χώρας, οἱ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας διεφέροντο. καὶ Ῥάσκος μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον συνέμαχει, Ῥασκούπολις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, τρισχιλίους ἱππέας ἔχων ἐκάτερος. πυνθανομένοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον περὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη τὴν μὲν δι' Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας ἐπίτομόν τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ λεωφόρον οὔσαν ἐπὶ τὰ Σαπαίων στενὰ ἄγειν, κατεχόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμήχανα ἐς δίοδον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ περίοδον τριπλασίονά τε καὶ χαλεπὴν.

88. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἐς κώλυσιν μὲν ὁδῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾶν, τροφῶν δὲ ἀπορία ἐς Θράκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας, ὅθεν ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

triumvirs did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut off their convoys from Italy. CHAP.
XI

And so Murcus and Domitius, with their 130 war ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy. 87. Meanwhile Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octavian and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpilans and the Sapaeans, tribes under the rule of Rhaseupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhaseupolis and Rhaseus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhaseus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhaseupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhaseupolis told them that the one by way of Aenus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapaeans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but the roundabout road was difficult and three times as long. Their
advance-
guard
march to
Philippi

88. Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not to close the passage to them but had crossed to Thrace instead of Macedonia for want of provisions, marched toward Aenus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XI. Λυσιμαχείας τε καὶ Καρδίας,¹ αἱ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρακίου χερρονήσου διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὀπλιτῶν ἐννεακαίδεκα τέλη, Βρούτου μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἐννέα, ἐντελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐς δύο που τέλη μάλιστα ἀναπληρούμενα, ὥς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς ὀκτώ. ἱππέες δὲ ἦσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν Κελτοὶ καὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θράκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι, Κασσίῳ δὲ Ἰβηρές τε καὶ Κελτοὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ ἵπποτοξόται Ἀραβῆς τε καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ εἶποντο βασιλέες καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, πεζὸν τε ἄγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἱππέας ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους.

XII

CAP. XII. 89. Τοσῆδε μὲν στρατιὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσῆδε ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλαχόθι χρεῖων. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀνεπλήρουν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπηγγελλένων τισὶν ὀφειλομένας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν περιουσίας χρημάτων πεφροντικότες, οἰκειούμενοι δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτούς, Γαίῳ μάλιστα Καίσαρι

¹ The text says that they marched toward Aenus and Maronea and thence toward Lysimacheia and Cardia, which would be the reverse of the route they actually took to Philippi. Schweighäuser judged that this was a copyist's blunder.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Cardia, which enclose the isthmus of the Thracian CHAP. XI
 Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them
 to the gulf of Melas.¹ Here they reviewed their
 army which contained in all nineteen legions of
 infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius
 nine, not full, but among them were two legions
 that were nearly full,² so that they mustered about
 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and
 Lusitanian horse, besides 2000 Thracian and Illyrian,
 Parthian and Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish
 and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs,
 Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs
 of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a
 large additional force of foot-soldiers and about
 5000 horse.

XII

89. SUCH was the size of the army reviewed by CHAP. XII
 Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it
 they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of
 their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing
 a lustration for the army, they completed the
 payment of the promised donative still due to the
 soldiers. They had provided themselves with an
 abundant supply of money in order to propitiate
 them with gifts, especially the large number who had
 Brutus and Cassius hold a review at the gulf of Melas

¹ The gulf of Melas was a day's journey east, not west, of Aenus.

² The text is corrupt. Perhaps we should read *δωδέκα* for *δύο*. The seventeen so-called legions were equal to twelve full legions.

CAP. ^{XII} τοὺς πλέονας ἐστρατευμένους, μή τις ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος νεωτερίσειεν ἐλθόντος. καὶ αὖθις ἔδοξε τούτου χάριν καὶ δημηγορήσαι. βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὃ τε ἴδιος καὶ συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἤδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἐκάτεροι, ἰσχυροτάτῃ σφίσι φανείσῃ· καὶ θάρσος ἦν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτίκα καὶ ἐλπίς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατηγούσιν. αὐτά τε πρῶτα πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πίστιν συνῆγε· τίκτουσι γὰρ εὖνοίαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ ὡς ἐν τοσούτοις ὄντος οἱ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ σιωπὴν ἐποιοῦν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος (προῦχε γὰρ ἡλικία) προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔλεξεν ὥδε·

90. “Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὃ σύστρατιῶται, κοινὸς ὢν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει· συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα ἔδομεν, ὃ μεγίστη πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὑμῶν τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὁράτε τοσοῦσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὅσον ἴστε, σίτου τε καὶ ὀπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμάχων κατὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἢ τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινὰ ὄντα συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

served under Gaius Caesar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Caesar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful force they had ever beheld. To both the generals their immense commands were an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows:—

90. "A common peril, like the present, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery—the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity—you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men,

CHAP.
XII

Speech of
Cassius to
the
republican
army

CAP.
XII ἄνδρες ἐχθροί, ἴστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ἡμῖν ἐτοίμως, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὖσαν ἡμῖν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

91. “Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατευόμενοί τε αὐτῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγούμεντες ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελούμεν ὄντες, ὥς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι' ἔχθραν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπίμεμptos ἦν, οὐχ ἡμῖν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὧν οὐδεὶς νόμος οὔτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἔτι ἦν· ἅπερ ἅπαντα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἤρμοσαν, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐτέρων. ὧ τινι ὄρκῳ βοηθοῦντες οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἔκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐς πολὺ περιδεῖν ἓνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ χρήσιμος, τά τε κοινὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειροτονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς γιγνόμενον ἐς ἅπαντα.

92. “Ὡν ἴσως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἡσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἐώρατε. νῦν δὲ ῥαδίως τε ἂν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

our enemies, have brought against us, you understand them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems fitting to explain our reasons once more. These will prove to you that we have the most honourable and righteous cause for war. CHAP.
XII

91. "We raised Caesar to his high place, serving him in war in conjunction with you and holding commands under him. We continued his friends so long that no one could imagine that we conspired against him on account of any private grudge. It was in the time of peace that he sinned, not against us, his friends (for we were honoured by him even among his friends), but against the laws, against the order of the commonwealth. There was no longer any law supreme, either aristocratic or plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers established when they expelled the kings and swore never to tolerate royal government again. We, descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves. We could no longer endure that one man, although he was our friend and benefactor, should take from the people and vest in himself the control of the public money, the armies, and the elections, and from the Senate the appointment of governors of the provinces; that he should be a law in place of the laws, a sovereign in place of the sovereign people, an autocrat in place of the senate's authority, for every purpose.

92. "Perhaps you did not understand these matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war. Yet you may easily learn about them now by observing only the part that concerns yourselves.

CAP. XII. ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα ὡς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κῦρος τόδε ἐν τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιλαμβάνετε αὐτοί, προβουλευούσης μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφαλείητε, κρίνοντας δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφίζόμενοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἢ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπάτους τε καὶ δημάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειροτονίαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες ἢ τιμῶντες, ὅτε κολάσεως ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίως ἄρξαιμεν ὑμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἦδε τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ᾧ πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄκραν ὑπερήγαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τετιμημένοι χάριν εἶχον ὑμῖν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατον ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ περὶ Λιβύην ἐμαρτυρήσατε· καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιεῖσθε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισομένους ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰ δέοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν τὰ πολλὰ, ὅσα ἴστε;

93. “Ἄλλ’ οὐκ, ἀφ’ οὗ Καῖσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν, οὐκ ἀρχὴν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὕπατον, οὐ δήμαρχον ἐχειροτονήσατε ἔτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε οὐδενί, οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν εἶχετε δοῦναι μαρτυροῦντες. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἰς ὑμῖν χάριν ὤφειλεν, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνῶν, οὐ δίκης. ὃ δὲ οἰκτιστον ἀπάντων ἐγένετο, οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ὑμῶν ὑβρίζομένοις, ἦν τινα αἰδιδον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀπεφῆνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀσύλους εἶδετε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

You, of the people, when you go to the wars, obey your generals as masters in everything, but in time of peace you resume your mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the praetors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honours upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honoured have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know?

93. "From the time when Caesar's domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either praetor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody's deeds, nor if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whose office you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the

CHAP.
XII

CAP. XII ὕβριν ἀφαιρουμένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος, ὅτι ἔδοξαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χαλεπήναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεύσαι. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπαχθῶς ἤνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς· ὑμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμέμψασθαι δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδ' ἐς κρίσιν ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἰσχὺν στρατοπέδων, ἃ καὶ αὐτά, τέως ὄντα τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἴδια, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

94. “Ἐδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὀλίγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικὰ ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι· ἐπισχόντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀντωνίου καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν ἀξιούντων διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τοῦδε μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐφυβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνῃς τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἀπάντων ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φόνου μὴ εἶναι δίκας. καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ' ἡμῖν δημοκοπήσαντος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότερον ὥς ἐναγεῖς κολλάζοντες ἢ ὥς ἀνδροφόνους πορφύρα τε ἱερᾷ καὶ ῥάβδοις καὶ πελέκεσι περικοσμοῦντες; ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήϊον τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπηίου Μάγνου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

order of one man, because in your behalf they saw CHAP.
XII
fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply grieved at this on your account, for the office of tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial by reason of the strength of the armies which, although heretofore belonging to the republic, he had made his own. So they adopted the only remaining method to ward off tyranny, and that was to conspire against the person of the tyrant.

94. "It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. But since Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder, and since it was not our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country, the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Caesar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy) because he was the only son of Pompey the Great,

CAP. XII τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισαμένου παῖς καὶ ὅτι μικρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἠνώχλει λανθάνων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, κατεκάλεσέ τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τὸ τίμημα αὐτῷ τῶν πατρώων ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔκριναν ἀποδοῦναι χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα κακείνους ἀρχὴν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὢν. τί δὴ πλέον ἔργου ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἢ σύμβολον ἐπιζητεῖτε τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπραῆχθαι, πλὴν ἢ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὁμολογῆσαι; ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πράξουσιν καὶ ἐροῦσιν καὶ λέγοντες ἅμα ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς, ὅταν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνωνται.

95. “Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὥς ἔχουσιν, ἵστε. προγράφονται χωρὶς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς δημεύεται, καὶ κτείνονται χωρὶς καταδίκης ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν, ἐκ μυχῶν ἀνασπώμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχῇ, τῶν νόμων τὸν ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἐόντων. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐς ἣν οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μόνον καὶ ἔμβολα νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἄρτι καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ἱππέων κεφαλαὶ πρόκεινται καὶ γέρα τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν ὠρισμένα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπανάστασις τίς ἐστὶ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ἦν ὑπουλα, καὶ ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια καὶ μύση ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ υἱῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν. ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις ἐπιτέτριπται. καὶ τῶνδε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ θεῖους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

who first took up arms to defend the republic, and because the young man had made some little opposition to the tyranny in a private way in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father's property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services.

CHAP.
XII

95. "What their present situation is you know. They are proscribed without trial, and their property is confiscated. Without being condemned, they are put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere, although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, praetors, tribunes, aediles, and knights are exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over,—sudden seizure of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such condition has the city now been plunged. The leaders of evil men in all this are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and

CAP. XII προγράψαντες. λέγεται ποτε πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτῶν βαρβάρων ἢ πόλιν ἀλῶναι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμνον οἱ Κελτοὶ κεφαλὰς οὐδὲ ἐνύβριζον ἀνηρημένοις οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἔτι λαθεῖν ἢ φυγεῖν ἐφθόνουν. οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πω πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὦν δορὶ ἐλάβομεν, τοιαῦτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἑτέροισι ἐπυθόμεθα διαθεῖναι, οἷα νῦν οὐκ ἰδιώτης πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονὶς ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἀρμόσαι καὶ διὀρθῶσαι τὰ κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο Ταρκύνιος; ὃν διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν, ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην, βασιλέα τε ὄντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι διὰ ἐν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

96. “ Καὶ τάδε, ᾧ πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναγείς λέγουσι, καὶ φασὶ μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας, ὅτε ἀνηρεῖτο. ὦν καὶ οἶδε εἰσὶν οἱ πλείονες, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος ἢ γνώμην δημοκρατικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρρω μὲν ὦν περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρῶμεν· ὅτι δέ ἐστι δημοκρατικοῦ πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς κατεκλήθη τε καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐς ἐσφοράς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ μέχρι δέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα κεκελευσμένους ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίαις, ᾧ τέλη καινὰ καὶ ἐσφοράς ἐπιγράφουσι; καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδ'

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

guardians first of all. History tells us that the city was once captured by the most savage barbarians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they never insulted the dead, they never begrudged their enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever treat in this way any city that we had captured in war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. Moreover, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of the world, that is thus wronged by those who have been chosen to set in order and regulate the republic. What did Tarquin ever do like this,—Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne for an insult to one woman under the influence of passion, and then for that one act, resolved to be ruled by kings no longer?

96. “While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Caesar when they proscribe men who were not even in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preference for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he is the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part had those women in the conspiracy against Caesar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part had those plebeians who holding property up to the value of 100,000 drachmas have been ordered to submit it to valuation under pressure of informers and fines?

CAP.
XII ὥς ἀνεπλήρωσαν τοῖς στρατευομένοις σφίσι τὰς
 δωρεάς. ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲν εἵργασται,
 καὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελλόμενα δεδώκαμεν καὶ ἕτερα ἔτοιμα
 ἔχομεν ἐς ἀμοιβὰς μείζονας. οὕτως ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ
 δαιμόνιον, ὥς δίκαια πράσσουσι, συνεπιλαμ-
 βάνει.

97. “Ἐπὶ δέ γε τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώ-
 πων ὁρᾶν ἔχετε, ἐς τοὺς ὑμῶν πολίτας ἀποβλέπον-
 τες, οὓς εἶδετε μὲν στρατηγοῦντας ὑμῶν πολλάκις
 καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπαινουμένους, ὁρᾶτε δὲ πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς ὡς εὐαγεῖς καὶ δημοκρατικούς καταπεφευγότας
 καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡρημένους καὶ συνευχομένους ἡμῖν
 ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιο-
 τερα ἡμεῖς γέρα τοῖς περισώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύ-
 ξαμεν ὢν ἐκείνοι τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν· οὐδὲ ὁρώσιν
 ἡμᾶς Γάιον μὲν, ὅτι ἡξίου μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀνηρηκό-
 τας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιουμένους ἀρχὴν
 ὑπερορᾶν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ ἐς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ
 μέσον τῷ δήμῳ προτιθέντας τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ
 τὰ πάτρια. ὥς οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης
 αἰρουμένων πολεμεῖν ἐκατέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν
 ὑπὲρ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἣν ἐν ταῖς προ-
 γραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἤδη, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἡ
 μόνον ἵνα τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθείσης ἰδιωτεύοι-
 μεν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οἶδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ
 πρὸ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνουσι. μεγίστη
 δὲ ἐλπὶς ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and what is more new taxes and contributions have been imposed upon them. And even while levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favour us because we do what is just.

CHAP.
XII

97. "Besides the favour of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they co-operate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Caesar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides do not decide to take up arms for the same reason—the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscriptio already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one's cause.

CAP.
XII

98. “Μηδέ τω, εἰ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο στρατιώτης, ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔτι ἵτω· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου γε ἤμεν οὐδὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ’ οἱ διδόμενοι μισθοὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐστε Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων· ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν συστρατιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. καὶ εἰ τότε καὶ οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν, ἐνῆν ἀκινδύνως ἅπασιν τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς πάντας ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κἀκείνην ἐλέσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα· καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκαλούμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδ’ ἂν δέξαιντο ἔτι διὰ τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔδρασαν, ἴωμεν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, μετὰ τε πίστεως ὑγιούς καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας.”

99. Ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων “ἴωμεν” καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἡσθεῖς ὁ Κάσσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὐθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὐθις ἔλεγε· “θεοὶ μὲν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπότης, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὧ συστρατιῶται, καὶ προθυμίας ἀμείβονται· τὰ δ’ ἐς ἀνθρωπίνην στρατηγῶν πρόνοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλέονα καὶ ἀμείνονά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάθετε οὕτως. τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἴσα αὐτοῖς ἀντεπάγομεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρεῶν ἄλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλιπόντες· ἱππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ πολὺ προύχομεν καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ ἔθνεσι τοῖς μέχρι Μήδων καὶ Παρθυαίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ μετώπου μόνον εἰσὶ πολέμιοι, ἡμεῖς δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ νώτου Πομπήϊόν τε ὁμογνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔχομεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μοῦρκος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

98. "Let it give no one any concern that he CHAP. XII has been one of Caesar's soldiers. We were not *his* soldiers then, but our country's. The pay and the rewards given were not Caesar's, but the republic's. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger, and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose what will be most fitting. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome."

99. They all cried out, "Forward!" and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: "May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is co-operating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Murcus and

CAP.
XII Ἀγνόβαρβος στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὑπηρεσία δαψιλεῖ
καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξόταις αἰεὶ δια-
πλέοντες ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλά, καθαρυνούσης πολε-
μίων ἡμῖν τῆς ὀπισθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης.
χρήματά γε μὴν, ἃ τινες καλοῦσι νεῦρα πολέμου,
τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἀπέδωκάν πω τὰ ὑπεσ-
χημένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπήντησε τὰ
τῶν προγραφῶν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπικεικῶν ὠνουμένου
χωρία ἐπίφθονα· οὐδ' ἐτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυ-
μένης στάσεσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ προγραφαῖς τῆς
Ἰταλίας. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ τὰ
παρόντα ἐστὶ δαψιλῇ, ὥς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἄλλα
χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἕτερα πολλά ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ
τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐθνῶν προσοδεύεται συμφερόμενα.

100. “Τροφαὶ δέ, ὃ δυσπορώτατόν ἐστι στρατοῖς
μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης
Μακεδονίας, ἔθνους ὀρείου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας
βραχείας· καὶ τάδε χρὴ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς φέρε-
σθαι κακοπαθοῦσιν. εἰ δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπάγοιντο ἢ
Λευκανίας ἢ Ἰαπυγίας, διακλείσουσι πάντα
Πομπήϊός τε καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ
καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως
διὰ θαλάττης ἐκ τε νήσων καὶ ἡπείρων ἀπασῶν,
ὅσαι ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ
τάδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν ὄντος ὀπισθεν ἐχθροῦ·
ὥστ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ
σχολῇς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῷ. τοσάδε
μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἐστίν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, παρ'
ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἔτοιμα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς
ἀνὰ λόγον ἀπαντήσκει παρά τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small craft,—besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are clear of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war, they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere, since Italy is exhausted by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us.

100. “Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and these must be carried to them overland with severe labour. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Murcus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, brought to us daily by sea without labour from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII. ἀποδόντες ἅπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχόμεθα, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἀμειψάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμειψόμεθα καὶ τὸ μείζον ἔργον ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. καὶ νῦν δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν, ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἥδη, συνόδου τῆσδε καὶ λόγων τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τούδε τοῦ βήματος στρατιώτῃ μὲν χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἰταλικὰς, λοχαγῶ δὲ πενταπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον.”

101. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεαῖς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπήνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπισχνοῦντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα διηρ’ ἔθμον καὶ ἕτερα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις πολλὰς τοῖς ἀρίστοις. τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρη προαπέλυνον, ἐς Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ αἰετοὶ καταπτάντες ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο αἰετοὺς ἀπ’ ἀργύρου πεποιημένους, ἐκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ἥ, ὥς ἐτέροις δοκεῖ, περιέσκεπον· καὶ παρέμενον δημοσίας τε τροφῆς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡξιοῦντο, μέχρι πρὸ μιᾶς τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπτυσαν. δύο δ’ ἡμέραις τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Αἶνον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Αἴνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέχρι Σερρείου ὄρους παράλια.

XIII

CAP. XIII. 102. Τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλλιον δὲ Κίμβρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we will, under the favour of the gods, provide you a reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal with which you already advance to your task, and in remembrance of this assembly and of these words, we will make an additional gift from this platform—to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas, to each centurion five times that sum, and to each tribune in proportion.”

CHAP.
XII

101. Having thus spoken, and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days round the gulf of Melas the army came to Aenus and thence to Doriscus and the other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium.

They move
against the
enemy

XIII

102. As Mount Serrium projected into the sea Cassius and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of

CHAP.
XIII

CAP.
XIII

ὀπλιτῶν ἐνὸς καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων τὴν ἀκτὴν περι-
πλεῖν ἔπεμπον, ἣ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐρημοτάτη, καίπερ
εὐγεως οὔσα, τῶν Θρακῶν οὔτε θαλάσση χρωμέ-
νων οὔτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόντων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν
ἐπιπλεόντων. Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν ἐτέρων τε καὶ
Χαλκιδέων καταλαβόντων καὶ θαλάσση χρωμέ-
νων, ἤνθει ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χαιρόν-
των σφίσι καὶ τῶν Θρακῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὠραίων
ἄμειψιν, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τοὺς τε
ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι
πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὁράσθαι. τήνδε οὖν
τὴν ἀκτὴν αὐθις ἐρημον οὔσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παρα-
πλέων, ὡς οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴρητο,
στρατοπέδοις ἐπιτήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ
διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ κατὰ μέρη πρόσπλουν,
ἵν' οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ὡς ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ
τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλίποιεν. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν ὡς
προσεδόκησαν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν
Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη
καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ
σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν
Κορπίλων στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον
διώδευον.

103. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς
καὶ ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων κατεῖχον ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ
πάλιν ἦν ἄπορα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀθυμία
τε ἐνέπιπτε, μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἥς ὑπερεωράκεσαν
περίοδον νῦν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ
ἡνυσμένα, ὁψὲ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ὥρας
γεγονότων. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις
ἔφη περίοδον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Σαπαίων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, which was again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapaean pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corpilans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

CHAP.

XIII

Tillius
Cimber
flanks the
enemy with
his fleet

103. When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapaean strongly. Again Brutus and his men could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks; although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhaseupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapaean

Brutus and
Cassius
impeded
by the
mountains

CAP.
XIII

ὄρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἄβατον μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸ νῦν ὑπὸ τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὕλης πυκνῆς· ἦν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθήσεσθαι μὲν διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν οὐδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρρησσὸν ποταμὸν ἤξειν, ἐκπίπτοντα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον, ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἔτι μιᾶς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς πολεμίους περιλαβόντας, ὥς ἀπειλῆφθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν ἔξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἐδόκει τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀπορίας οὐνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλιστα τοῦ περιλήψεσθαι τοσόνδε στρατὸν πολεμίων.

104. Προπέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ παραδόντες, ὁδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος. οἱ δ' ἐπιμόχθως μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἔπραττον αὐτὸ μετὰ ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ τινες αὐτοῖς προπεμφθέντες ἐπανήλθον, ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀπόπτου λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ τε κόπου καὶ δίψους, ἐπιλιπόντος ἤδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἐπήγοντο, ἀνέφερον, ὅτι τριήμερόν σφισι τὸ ἄνυδρον ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πανικῷ περὶ ἐνέδρας ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντες μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθεῖσι τὸν ποταμὸν ἰδεῖν, ἡγούμενοι δὲ ἑτέραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἀθύμουν καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ῥασκούπολιν, ὅτε ἴδοιεν περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

mountain) of three days' march, which had been CHAP. XIII impassable to men up to this time on account of rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests. If, however, they could carry their water and make a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so enveloped in shade that they would not be perceived even by birds. On the fourth day they would come to the river Harpessus, which falls into the Hermus, and in one day more they would be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut him off completely and leave him no chance to retreat. They adopted this plan since there was nothing else to do, and especially because it held out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the enemy.

104. They sent a detachment in advance under command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless with enthusiastic zeal, and all the more when some who had gone ahead came back and said that they had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth day, fatigued with labour and thirst, the water which they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollected that it had been said that they should be in a waterless region only three days. So they fell into a panic fearing that they were the victims of a stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had been sent in advance and who said that they had seen the river, but they thought that they themselves were being led in a different direction. They lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him.

Severe
labours
in the
Thracian
forests

CAP.
XIII

ἔβαλλον. Βύβλου δὲ αὐτοὺς ἱκετεύοντος ἐκπονῆσαι τὰ λοιπὰ μετ' εὐφημίας, ὃ ποταμὸς περὶ ἐσπέραν ἑωρᾶτο τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ βοῆς, ὡς εἰκός, λαμπρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἡ βοή, μεταλαμβάνοντων αὐτὴν τῶν κατόπιν ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιήει. Βρούτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἔεντο αὐτίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ τῆς τετμημένης τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον αὐτούς· ὃ γάρ τοι Ῥάσκος, ὃ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονοήσας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὁδὸν ἄνυδρον ἐλθόντος στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε, ἣν οὐδὲ θηρίον ᾤετο ὁδεύσειν διὰ τοιαύσδε ὕλης, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐπ' Ἀμφιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θράκες ἅμφω διὰ στόματος ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς, ὃ μὲν ἀγνοομένην ἀγαγών, ὃ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοήσας.

105. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐκ παραλόγου τόλμης ἐς Φιλίππους παρήλθον, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Τίλλιος ἐπικατήχθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς συνεληλύθει. οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι πόλις ἐστίν, ἡ Δάτος ὠνομάζετο πάλαι καὶ Κρηνίδες ἔτι πρὸ Δάτου· κρῆναι γάρ εἰσι περὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλάι. Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς εὐφυνὲς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίου ὠχύρωσέ τε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Φιλίππους προσεῖπεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφου περικρήμνου, τασαύτη

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnaissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage, and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapaeans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received high commendation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by a secret path, the other because he had discovered the secret.

CHAP.
XIII

105. Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that

They arrive
at Philippi

CAP.
XIII

τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ εὖρος. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτω δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἤγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἔλος ἐστὶ καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑὼ τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδίον μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων που καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὐφόρον πάνυ καὶ καλόν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρῃ φασὶν ἀνθιζομένη γενέσθαι, καὶ ποταμὸς ἐστὶ Ζυγάκτης, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ θεοῦ περὼντος τὸ ἄρμα τὸν ζυγὸν ἄξαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατωφερὲς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὡς ἐπιδέξιον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνωθεν ὀρμῶσιν ἐκ τῶν Φιλίππων, ἀναντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως βιαζομένοις.

106. Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἕτερος λόφος οὗ μακράν, ὃν Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἐστὶ τὰ Ἀσυλα καλούμενα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δέκα σταδίους προελθόντι δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόφοι, Φιλίππων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀφεστῶτες, ἀλλήλων δὲ ὅσον ὀκτώ, ἐν οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχωρούντων οὐκ ἐτι προήεσαν· Ἀντώνιον τε γὰρ ἐπυνθάνοντο πλησιάζειν, Καίσαρος ὑπολελειμμένου διὰ νόσον ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι. τὰ γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἑλὴ καὶ λίμναι μέχρι τοῦ Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ ἀτριβὴ καὶ ἀνόδευτα· τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapaean and Corpilean, and on the west a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. Here it is said that Persephone was carried off while gathering flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot was broken, from which circumstance the river received its name. The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis.

106. There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavian having been left behind at Epidamnus on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between

CHAP.
XIII

They
encamp
there

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XIII. Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ αὐτὰ διετείχισαν ὑπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας ἐν μέσῳ κατέλιπον, ὥς ἐν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ποταμός, ὃν Γάγγαν τινές, οἱ δὲ Ἀγγίτην λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὀπισθεν, ἐν ἣ καὶ τὰ ταμιεῖα καὶ ἐνορμίσματα ἔμελλον ἔξειν. Θάσον μὲν δὴ ταμιεῖον, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν σταδίων οὔσαν, ἐτίθεντο, ἐνορμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων.

XIV

CAP.
XIV. 107. Οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὠχύρουν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὥδευε μὲν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ μετ' ἐπείξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων ἐς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὥς δὲ αὐτὴν εὗρεν ὠχυρωμένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ἥσθη καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέλιπε μεθ' ἐνὸς τέλους, οὗ Πινάριος ἡγεῖτο, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλα θρασέως πολὺν προελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὀκτὼ μόνους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ εὐθύς ἦν κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσις τε καὶ πλεονεξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρώων, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλους· καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ὧν αὐτίκα ὠρωρύχεισαν· τὴν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγοντο ἐκ Θάσου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως. ἐδόκει γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὥδε πράξαι,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

gates. Across this space they built a fortification from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites, and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant, and their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades.

CHAP.
XIII

XIV

107. BRUTUS and Cassius were satisfied with the position and proceeded to fortify their camps, but Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted. Leaving his supplies there and one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at a distance of only eight stades from the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy's situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marsh; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was 350 stades from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was

CHAP.
XIV
Antony
arrives at
Amphipolis

He
advances
boldly
to Philippi

CAP. κολωνοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἑτέρου, τὸ δ' ἄλλο
XIV πεδίου οἷα κοιλότερον ἐκλιμνάζοντος ἐνίοτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ· παρ' ὃ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας τε καὶ δαψιλοὺς ὕδατος εὔρισκε. τό γε μὴν τόλμημα, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπλησσε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρονήσει παραστρατο- πεδεύσαντος. φρούριά τε ἤγειρε πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὠχύρου τάφροις καὶ τείχεσι καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὠχύρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδη οὔσαν ὀρῶν διετείχιζεν, ὃ ἔτι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔλειπεν ἐς τὸ ἔλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατό- πέδου, διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὥς μηδὲν ἔτι ἀτείχιστον εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βρούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν θάλασ- σαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔλει· τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διείληπτο τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

108. Οὕτω μὲν ὠχυροῦντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ μόνοις ἱππεῦσι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπειρῶντο ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα, ὅσα ἐπενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφίκτο, οὐπω μὲν ἔρρω- μένος ἐς μάχην, φορεῖω δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κομιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσαν ἐς μάχην, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἀντεξέτασσαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατήε- σαν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγε- σθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever their work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates.

108. In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavian had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each

CHAP.
XIV

The forces
on either
side

CAP.
XIV

πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἑκατέροις ἑννεακαίδεκα ὀπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἄμφι τὸν Βρούτον ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἄμφι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπλεόναζον ἑκατέρωθεν· ἱππῆες δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑκατέρων Θρακίοις ἦσαν Καίσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίῳ δισμύριοι. ὥστε πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσει καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ παρασκευῇ λαμπροτάτην ἑκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθῆναι, ἀπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθέλόντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἄμφι τὸν Βρούτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐγγίονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐδὲν ὄν δαψιλές οὐδὲ οἰκείον· οὔτε γάρ τι δι' ἐμπορῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λαβεῖν εἶχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Λιβύης διὰ Πομπήιον οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Μούρκον καὶ Δομίτιον. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐμελλόν ἀρκέσειν Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία, μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε χορηγοῦσαι.

109. Ὡν οἱ μὲν ἄμφι τὸν Βρούτον ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα διέτριβον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδιὼς ἔγνω βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐπενόησεν, εἰ δύναιτο βάσιμον τὸ ἔλος ἐργάσασθαι λαθῶν, ἵνα κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔτι ἀγνοούντων γενόμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζομένην. ἐκτάσσω οὖν αὖθις ἐκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα, ἵνα ὅλος ἐκτετάχθαι νομίζοιτο, μέρει τινὶ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔκοπτεν ἐν τῷ ἔλει δίοδον στενὴν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χῶμα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

side, but those of Brutus and Cassius lacked something of being full, while those of Octavian and Antony were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides ; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer.

CHAP.
XIV

Brutus and
Cassius
hope to
starve the
enemy

109. Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and his generals protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the delay, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day making a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway upon them, and flanking it with stone, so

Antony
seeks to
force an
engagement

CAP. XIV. ἐπιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἐκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χῶμα διαπίπτει, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεσταύρου καὶ ἐγεφύρου μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης. ἀφήρητο δὲ τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκῶς ἔτι δόναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διόδῳ. δέκα δ' ἡμέρας ἐργασάμενος ὧδε ἐσέπεμψε λόχους ὀρθίους νυκτὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῶν ἐντὸς κατέλαβε καὶ ἐχαράκωσε φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιάν τε καὶ κλοπὴν, ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια τὸν Ἀντώνιον, διετείχιζε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ ἔλος ἅπαν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασιν ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου γεγεννημένην διόδον ἀπολαμβάνων, ἵνα μήτε ἐκδραμεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδον ἔτι δυνηθεῖεν μήτε ἐκείνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

110. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὥς εἶχεν, αὐτίκα σὺν ὀρμῇ τε καὶ ὀργῇ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἴδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἤγεν ἐπιστρέφων εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου, μεταξὺ τοῦ ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρια φέρων καὶ κλίμακας, ὥς ἐξελῶν αὐτὸ καὶ παροδεύσων ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον. γιγνομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεταίχμιον τῶν στρατιῶν ἐκατέρων, περιήλγησαν οἱ τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει, ὧδε μάλα θρασέως αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεόντων, καὶ ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρό τινος ἐκ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἐκτεινον οἷα πλαγίους ἀθρόως, οὓς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἅπαξ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

that the earth should not fall away, and bridging the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest silence. The reeds, which were still growing round his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing his work. After working ten days in this manner he sent a column of troops by night suddenly, who occupied all the strong positions within his lines and built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of this work, and he formed the counter design of cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a transverse wall across the whole marsh from his camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same manner as Antony had done, and setting up the palisade on the top of his mounds, thus intercepting the passage made by Antony, so that those inside could not escape to him, nor he render assistance to them.

CHAP.
XIV

110. When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led it against the cross-fortification of Cassius between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged on their own account, without any order from their officers, and killed with much slaughter (as natural in a flank attack) all they came up with. The battle once begun they charged upon

He attacks
the fortifi-
cations of
Cassius

CAP.
XIV

ἔργου καὶ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ τεταγμένω
 μάλιστα κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπέδραμον καὶ τρέψαντες
 ἐδίωκον, μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεῖλον, ὃ
 κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι, Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ
 δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν
 ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν.

111. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὁρῶν τὴν μάχην συνερ-
 ρωγυῖαν ἦσθη μὲν ὡς ἀναγκάσας (πάνυ γὰρ ἐπὶ
 ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδεδίει), ἀναστρέφειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον
 οὐκ ἔκρινεν, μὴ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσων ταρα-
 ξειν, ὡς ἀρξάμενος δ' εἶχεν ὁρμῆς, ἐχεῖτο δρόμῳ
 καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, μέχρι
 βιαζόμενος ἐνέκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου,
 τὴν τάξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούσῃ καὶ τὸ
 γιγνόμενον ὡς ἄλογον καταπέπληγμένη. ῥήξας
 δ' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐπὶ τὸ διατείχισμα ὥρμα, τὸ
 μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἔλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὸν τε
 χάρακα ἀνασπῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωννὺς καὶ
 τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις
 καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἐπιπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους
 ὑπομένων, ἕως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσήλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν
 ἔνδον, ἕτεροι δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίαις ἐσήλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ
 τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανέβαινον. καὶ πάντα οὕτως
 ἐγίγνετο ὁξέως, ὥστε τοῖς τὸ ἔλος ἐργαζομένοις
 ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ὑπήντων ἐλόντες ἤδη τὸ διατείχισμα.
 τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὁρμῇ βιαίῳ καὶ
 εἰς τὸ ἔλος κατώσαντες ἐπανήεσαν εἰς αὐτὸ ἤδη
 τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνοι σὺν τῷ
 Ἀντωνίῳ, ὅσοι τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερῆλθον, τοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

the army of Octavian, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavian had in common, and captured it. Octavian himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.

CHAP
XIV
Brutus
routs the
army of
Octavian
and captures
his camp

111. When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck the troop of Cassius which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the débris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius' men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in

Antony
puts the
army of
Cassius
to flight

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XIV ἄλλου πλήθους, ἐκατέρων ἐκτὸς ἀλλήλοις μα-
χομένου.

112. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὥς ἐρυμνὸν ὀλίγοι
πάμπαν ἐφύλασσον· ὅθεν αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐκρά-
τησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου
στρατὸς ἡσάτο καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἰδὼν τοῦ
στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον
ἦν ἐντελὲς ἐκατέροις καὶ ὅμοιον· Βροῦτός τε γὰρ
τὸ λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον ἡρήκει, Ἀντώνιος τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν
ἀμηχάνῳ τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φόνος
τε ἦν ἐκατέρων ποικίλος· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους πεδίου
τε καὶ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἡγνύουν, μέχρι ποτὲ
ἐπύθοντο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ
ἐπανήεσαν, ἀχθοφόροις ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἢ στρα-
τιώταις· καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ἡσθάνοντο οὐδὲ
καθεώρων, ἐπεὶ ῥίψαντές γε, ὅσα ἔφερον, οἱ
ἕτεροι μέγα ἂν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἐτέρων,
ἀσυντάκτως ὧδε ἀχθοφορούντων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν
τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν
Κάσσιον ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους σὺν τοῖς παρασπί-
ζουσι θεράπουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν
Καίσαρα διπλασίονα.

XV

CAP.
XV 113. Κάσσιος δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῶν διατειχισμάτων ἐξ-
έωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ
γιγνόμενα ἐφεώρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall. CHAP. XIV

112. As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already being beaten, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000, and on the side of Octavian double that number. He captures and plunders his camp

XV

113. WHEN Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had even a camp to go to, he hurried up the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. As he could not see accurately on CHAP. XV
Cassius commits suicide

CAP.
XV. *κονιορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὄρων, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ
τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ προσπεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθεῖραι.
διαμέλλοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ Πινδάρου προσέθει τις
ἀγγέλλων Βροῦτον ἐπὶ θάτερα νικᾶν καὶ τὸ
στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ
μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο· “νικῶς, λέγε αὐτῷ,
παντελῇ νίκην,” ἐς δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐπιστραφεῖς,
“τί βραδύνεις;” ἔφη, “τί τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης με
οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεις;” Πίνδαρος μὲν δὴ δεσπότην,
ὑπέχοντα τὴν σφαγὴν, διεχρήσατο. καὶ τισιν
οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖ Κασσίον. ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν
οἶονται, προσιόντων ἐς εὐαγγέλιον ἱππέων Βρού-
του, νομίσαντα εἶναι πολεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ
ἄκριβες εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον· τὸν δὲ τῶν ἱππέων
ὡς Κασσίου φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ
ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἀλαλαξάντων μέγα, τὸν Κασσίον
ἡγούμενον ἐς ἐχθροὺς ἐμπεσεῖν Τιτίνιον· τοῦτο
φάναι· “περιεμένομεν φίλον ἀρπαζόμενον ἰδεῖν,”
καὶ ἔς τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Πιν-
δάρου καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον οὐκέτι φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ
νομίζουσὶ τινες οὕτω κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι.*

Κασσίῳ μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν
αὐτοῦ Κασσίου γενέθλιον ἡμέραν, ὧδε τῆς μάχης
γενέσθαι συμπεσούσης, καὶ Τιτίνιος ὡς βραδύνας
ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε· 114. Βροῦτος δὲ Κασσίου τὸν
νέκυν περικλαίων, ἀνεκάλει τελευταῖον ἄνδρα
Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὐ τινος ἔτι τοιοῦδε ἐς ἀρετὴν
ἐσομένου, ταχυεργίας τε αὐτῷ καὶ προπετείας
ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμακάριζεν ὁμοῦ φροντίδων καὶ
ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένον, αἰ Βροῦτον ἐς ποῖον ἄρα
τέλος ὀδηγοῦσι; παραδοὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

account of the dust, nor could he see everything, CHAP.
XV but only that his own camp was captured, he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to fall upon him and kill him. While Pindarus still delayed a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other wing, and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely answered, "Tell him that I pray his victory may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing the good news from Brutus, he took them for enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason some persons think that he killed Cassius without orders.

Thus Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on which, as it happened, the battle was fought, and Titinius killed himself because he had been too late; 114. and Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that his equal in virtue would never exist again. He reproached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the same time he esteemed him happy because he was freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are leading Brutus, whither, ah whither?" He delivered

Brutus
weeps over
his body

CAP.
XV. φίλοις, ἔνθα λαθραίως θάψειαν, ἵνα μὴ καταδα-
κρύσειε τὸν στρατὸν ὀρώντα, αὐτὸς ἄσιτός τε
καὶ ἀτημέλητος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τὸ Κασσίου
στρατόπεδον καθίστατο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τῶν
πολεμίων τὸν στρατὸν παρατασσόντων ἐς μάχην,
ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἡλασθῶσθαι, συνεῖς τοῦ ἐνθυμή-
ματος, “ὀπλισώμεθα,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνθ-
υποκριθῶμεν ἐλάσσονα παθεῖν.” ὥς δὲ παρέταξεν,
οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐπιτωθᾶσας ἔφη
τοῖς φίλοις· “οἱ μὲν δὴ προκαλούμενοι ἡμᾶς ὥς
κεκμηκότας οὐδὲ ἀπεπείρασαν.”

115. Ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν μάχην ἐν Φιλίπποις
συνέβαινε εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ τοιόνδε πάθος
ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο μέγα. Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ
ὀλκάδων ἤγεον ὀπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ
τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν, τὸ Ἄρειον, ὃ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς
ἀλκῆς ὠνόμαζον. ἤγε δὲ καὶ στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν,
ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἱππέων τε ἵλας τέσσαρας
καὶ ἕτερον πλῆθος ἐπειλεγμένον· καὶ τριήρεις
αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὀλίγαι. Μοῦρκος δ' αὐτοῖς
καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μακραῖς
ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ ὀλκάδες ἰστίῳ μὲν αἱ
πρῶται διέφυγον ὀλίγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλά-
σαντος ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθερᾷ
κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἠλῶντο, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἐκδεδο-
μέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς
ἐκάστη καὶ ἀνερρήγνυνον οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαι
σφας τριήρεις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλι-
γότητα κυκλούμεναι. ἔργα δ' ἦν τῶν κινδυνευ-
οντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πλοῖα
συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλῳ σπουδῇ καὶ κοντοῖς ἄρμο-

the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the army should be moved to tears at the sight; and himself passed the whole night, without food and without care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up their army in order of battle, so that they might not seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make believe that we have suffered defeat." So he put his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus said to his friends, jestingly, "They challenged us when they thought we were tired out, but they dared not put us to the test."

CHAP.
XV

115. On the same day that witnessed the battle at Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavian, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a praetorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of horse, and a considerable picked body of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. But the wind suddenly failing, the rest drifted about in a dead calm on the sea, delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. For the latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valour. Sometimes they hastily warped their ships together with

Naval
engagement
in the
Adriatic

CAP. ^{XV} ζόντων ἐς ἄλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπλεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. ὅτε δὲ τούτου κρατήσειαν, ὁ μὲν Μούρκος αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε τοξεύματα πυρός, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συνδέσμους ἀνέλκον ὀξέως καὶ ἀπέφευγον ἀλλήλων διὰ τὸ πῦρ αὐθὶς τε ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐς περίπλουν καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἔτοιμοι.

116. Ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄρειοι, ὅτι κρείττους ὄντες ἀλκὴν δι' ἀπραξίας ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρός ἑαυτοὺς ἀνῆρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἐναλλόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον. νῆές τε ἡμίφλεκτοι μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεον, ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης δαπανωμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰστῶν ἢ σανίδων ἐχόμενοι ἐς πέτρας ἢ ἀκτὰς ἐξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἱ καὶ περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν ἢ ἰστίων ἢ κάλων διαμασώμενοι, μέχρι σφᾶς ὁ κλύδων ἐξήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ' ἦν, ὃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡσσώμενον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἑπτακαίδεκα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ Μούρκον ἐς ἑαυτοὺς μεθώρκουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεὼς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ, δόξας ἀπολωλέναι.

Τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπεγίγνετο, εἴτε νανάγιον εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι χρή· καὶ ἐξέπλησσε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθέν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

ropes and made them fast with spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on account of the fire and thus again were exposed to being surrounded or rammed by the triremes.

116. Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, selling their lives dearly. Vessels half burned floated a long time, containing men perishing by fire, or hunger, and thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them even lasted for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundisium on his ship five days later.

Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a naval catastrophe or a naval battle. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.

CHAP.
XV

The
Antonian
fleet
destroyed

CAP.
XVI

117. Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “ οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μὴ κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἤρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος, ὃ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὄν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρασ, διεφθείρατε ἅπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ εἴλετε πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὥς προύχειν τάδε παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δ’ ἂν ὅλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἀρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἴλεσθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς ἠσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλείονες ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμων. καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπασαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων ὄντων τὸ ἕτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα ἔχομεν, ὥς καὶ τῷδε τὴν ἐπὶ κτήσιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ ἕτερα προύχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῷ αἰχμαλώτων μανθάνειν, περί τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμῆσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ’ ὀλίγον ἤδη σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνης ἢ Λιβύης ἢ Ἰβηρίας ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομπήιον καὶ Μούρκον καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον, ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλαγος· Μακεδονίαν τε ἐξαναλώκασιν ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μόνης ἄρτι Θηεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἐς πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει;

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

XVI

117. BRUTUS assembled his army and addressed it as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our left wing. But when it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished; for most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners—concerning the scarcity and dearness of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice?

CHAP.
XVI
Brutus
addresses
his army

CAP.
XVI

118. “Ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπείγομένους εἰς μάχην μάλιστα ἴδῃτε, τότε ἡγείσθε διωκομένους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἰρεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δ’ ἀντιμηχανησώμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἡμῶν προπολεμεῖν, ἵν’ ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχοιμεν, ὅτε χρή. μὴδ’ ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρόν, μὴδὲ βραδυτῆτά τις ἡγείσθω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα, ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω θάλασσαν ἀφορῶν, ἢ τοσαύτας ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τροφὰς ἐπιπέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἣν ὑπομένητε καὶ μὴ ἀδοξῆτε, εἰ προσπαίξονται τε ἡμῖν καὶ πρόκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμείνονες ὄντες, ὥς διέδειξε τὸ ἐχθρὸς ἔργον, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον δέος ἰώμενοι. τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἣς νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ κρατεῖν, ἀθρόαν ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια ἐντελῆ μέν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσι τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χιλίας ἐκάστω στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον.”

Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν καὶ αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεὰν κατὰ τέλην· δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς δώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

119. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἰδότες οὐ μαχοῦμενον ἐκόντα τὸν Βρούτον, τοὺς ἰδίους συνῆγον, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεξε· “τὸ ἐχθρὸς ἔργον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἶδα ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μερίζονται, ὥς διώξαντές τινες ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἅπαν ὑμέτερον· ὑπισχνοῦμαι γὰρ ὑμῖν οὔτε αὖριον οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἐκόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἥξειν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

118. "When, therefore, you see them eager to fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage them before we do, so that when it is necessary to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted. Let us not be carried away by our ardour before the proper time. Let no one think that my generalship has become sloth rather than action, when he casts his eye on the sea behind us, which sends us all this aid and provisions and enables us to win victory without danger if you wait and do not mind the insults and provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than ourselves, as yesterday's work shows, but are trying to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I now desire you to repress be shown abundantly when I ask it. The rewards of victory I myself will pay you in full when it shall please the gods that our work be finished. And now for your bravery in yesterday's engagement, I will give to each soldier 1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion."

After speaking thus he distributed the donative to the legions in their order. Some writers say that he promised to give them also the cities of Lacedaemon and Thessalonica to plunder.

119. Meanwhile Octavian and Antony, seeing that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their men, and Antony addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a share of yesterday's victory because they drove some of us and plundered our camp, but they will show by their action that it was wholly yours. For I promise you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest

CHAP.
XVI

Speech of
Antony
to his
soldiers

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

UAP.
XVI

ὁ σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἡσσης καὶ φόβου, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀφιστῶνται τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ ἐλάττονες· οὐ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτό γε στρατὸν ἡγειρον τοσόνδε, ἵνα τῶν Θρακῶν ἐρημίαν οἰκῶσι διατειχίσαντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν διετείχισαν μὲν ἔτι προσιόντων ὑμῶν διὰ δέος, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἐνοικοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἐχθρῆς ἡσσαν· ἐφ' ἣ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερός τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερος πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μεγίστη συμφορῶν ἐστὶν ἀπόδειξις. ὅταν οὖν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς προκαλουμένων μὴ δέχωνται μηδὲ καταβαίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν πιστεύωσι τοῖς κρημνοῖς, τότε μοι θαρροῦντες ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, συναναγκάσατε αὐτοὺς αὐθις, ὥσπερ ἐχθρῆς ἠναγκάσατε, αἰσχροὺς ἡγούμενοι δεδιότων ἐλασσοῦσθαι καὶ ὀκνοῦντων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τειχῶν ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀσθενέστεροι γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἤλθομέν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πεδίῳ βιώσοντες, οὐδ' ἔστι βραδύνουσιν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ὀξεῖς, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μήκιστον εἶναι.

120. “Τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα ἐπιμηχανησόμεθα ἡμεῖς, οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐχθρῆς ὀρμῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενόμενοι· τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτήσθε, ἀποδίδετε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μηδὲ ἄχθεσθε τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἀρπαγῆς μηδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔχομέν ἐστι τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὃ καὶ τὰ ἐχθρῆς ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι ὄντα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σῶα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of courage, that like those who have been vanquished in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely they did not collect so numerous an army in order to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts of Thrace. But they built their fortifications when you were still approaching because they were afraid; and now that you have come they adhere to them because of yesterday's defeat, for which also the older and more experienced of their generals in utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore, they do not accept our challenge and come down from the mountain, but trust to their precipices instead of their arms, be valiant, O my soldiers of Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be men weaker than walls. We did not come hither to pass our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be in want of everything. If we are well advised we shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace may be of the longest duration possible.

120. "We, who have not incurred your censure for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will devise fresh opportunities and means for this end. Do you, on the other hand, when you are asked, repay your generals with your valour. Nor must you be troubled, for a moment, by yesterday's plundering of our camp, for wealth consists not in the property we hold, but in conquering with might, which will restore to us as victors not only what we lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's

CHAP.
XVI

CAP. XVI. κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει· καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸς ἀντειλήφμεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἴσως ἱκανώτερα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιάσαντο καὶ ἥρπασαν, ἐπήγοντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὥς ἐκ πατρίδος ἰόντες τὰ μὲν δαψιλέστερα οἴκοι ὑπελίπεσθε, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μόνα ἐπήγεσθε. εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαψιλὲς ἦν, ἡμέτερον ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἳ πάντα ἐσμέν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης δ' ὁμως ζημίας ὑμῖν ἔνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἐκάστω στρατιώτῃ πεντακισχιλίας, λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλί-
 ἀρχῇ δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ."

121. Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἐξέτασσε· καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ ἐξέτασσεν αἰεὶ, ὁ δὲ Βρούτος τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγμένον, μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖν μάχεσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων διελάμβανε. λόφος δὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσχερὲς μὲν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυναμένων· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ὁμως ἐφρούρει, μὴ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολήσειέ τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρούτου κατέλαβον οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς τέτρασι τέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ διφθέρας ἐς προβολὴν τοῖς τοξεύμασιν. ὥς δὲ κατέσχον, ἄλλα τέλη δέκα μετεστρατοπέδευον ὑπὲρ πέντε σταδίους ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

possession, but the enemy's wealth in addition. CHAP.
XVI
And if we are in haste to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while you, coming from your own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. However, as compensation even for this loss we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune."

121. Having spoken thus, he marshalled his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down even then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight; and with another part he guarded the road by which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy, because by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest any one should make bold to attack it. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavian occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther

He offers
battle to
the enemy

CAP.
XVI ἄλλους τέσσαρας δύο, ὥς τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ προε-
λευσόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ ἡ παρ' αὐτὴν
ἄρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐλῶν ἡ ὅν τινα
τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπενόουν, βιασόμενοι καὶ τὴν
ἀγορὰν ἀποκλείοντες τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ὁ
Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηχανᾶτο, ἄλλα τε καὶ φρού-
ρια ἀντικαθιστὰς τοῖς ἐκείνων στρατοπέδοις.

122. Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἡπείγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καί-
σαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἤδη σαφής, ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ
δέος ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ
Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκούντα ἐκομίζετο,
οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπίς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων
πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων· τῆς τε ἑναγχοῦς περὶ τὸν
Ἴόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελημένης ἐς ἐκατέρους ἤδη,
μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτά τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα
προσιόντα ὥς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλώδει σταθμεύοντες.
ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἐς Ἀχαΐαν
ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐντυγχάνοντα πάντα καὶ
πέμπειν σφίσι κατὰ σπουδὴν. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ
κινδύνου τοσοῦδε προσιόντος οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων
ἐπιτεχνήσεων οὔτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπὸν ἐκτάσσειν,
παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ
βοῆς καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισ-
κώπτοντες ἅμα καὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ
πολιορκίας τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ μανιώδει φορᾷ μὴ
βουλομένῳ συμπλέκεσθαι.

123. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἔγνωστο τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,
καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ
καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἴόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν
πολεμίων ὁρῶντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν· καὶ
ἡρεῖτο πολιορκίας καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι,
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπειγομένους ὑπὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

CHAP.
XVI

122. The task of Octavian and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and in view of the magnitude [of the coming famine] the fear of it grew upon them more and more each day, for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies, it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad assault to force him to an engagement.

Scarcity in
the camp
of the
Triumvirs

123. But Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else rather than come to an engagement with men desperate

Brutus
declines
to fight

CAP.
XVI

λιμοῦ, καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν μόναις ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐδυσφόρουν γυναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες δὲ καὶ θάσσουν ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ προθύμου στρατοῦ. αἷτιον δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βρούτον ἐπιεικῇ καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοιον Κασσίῳ, αὐστηρῶ καὶ ἀρχικῶ περὶ πάντα γεγενημένῳ· ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὑπήκουον, οὐ παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς αἰτίας μανθάνοντες οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ μάθοιεν, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συστρατηγεῖν ἡξίουεν διὰ πραῦτητα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ φανερώτερον ἤδη κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ συστάσεις διαπυνθανομένον· “τί κατέγνωκεν ἡμῶν ὁ στρατηγός; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολεμίους κατακάνοντες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐλόντες;” Βρούτος ἐκὼν ἡμέλει καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνῆγε, μὴ ἀπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀλογίστως ἐκβιασθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οἷς ἐστιν αἰεὶ, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐχερέσιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἑτέρους δεσπότης, ἐλπίς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μεταβολή.

124. Ἐνοχλοῦντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ κελευόντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρα-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

for hunger, and whose hopes rested solely on fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers also, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all—not like Cassius, who had been austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began more and more openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately—we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy.

CHAP.
XVI

His soldiers
become
restive

124. His officers also kept irritating him and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army

CAP.
XVI τοῦ τῇ προθυμίας, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου, ἦν δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανιέναι πάλιν ἐς τὰ τείχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βροῦτος τοῖσδε μάλιστα ἡγεμόσιν οὔσι καὶ περιαλήσας, ὅτι τὸν αὐτόν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ στρατῷ κουφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ ὀξεῖαν τύχην προτιθέντι νίκης ἀκινδύνου, εἶξεν ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρῳ, τοσόνδε ἐπιμεμψάμενος αὐτοῖς· “εἰκόκαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγούντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενοι.” καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε μόνον ἐξειπεῖν, ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἐδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς οἶα τοῦ πάλαι Καίσαρος γεγωνὸς ἀγανακτήσειέ τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο· ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτός τε καὶ Κάσσιος ὑφορώμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρόφασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

125. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐξῆγεν ἄκων καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμει πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ προύχειν τοῦ λόφου, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἰ δεήσειεν, εὐχερὴς εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξια. ἦν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσίς τε πάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀναγκαῖον, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέους λιμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς δικαίας, βιασαμένοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν ὦν ὑπέσχοντο ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις ὦν ἐθρασύνοντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνους μᾶλλον ἢ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

now, which would speedily bring glorious results. CHAP. XVI
If the battle should turn out adversely, they could His officers urge him to fight
fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem likely to carry on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding now as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Caesar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had suspected from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

125. So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and exaggerated confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a proper shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favoured delay, and fear lest they should come short of their promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good

He yields to them unwillingly

CAP.
XVI

ἀξιεπαίνοις εὐβουλίας. ἂ καὶ ὁ Βρούτος αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ἵππου περιθέων, σοβαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ προενέβαινε καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ὑπερίμνησκει, ὅσων ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου. “ὕμεῖς ἠθελήσατε μάχεσθαι, ὕμεῖς με ἐτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε· μὴ δὲ ψεύσῃσθε τῆς ἐλπίδος μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε αὐτούς. ἔχετε καὶ λόφον σύμμαχον καὶ τὰ κατὰ νότου πάντα ἴδια. οἱ πολέμιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ· μεταξὺ γάρ εἰσὶν ὑμῶν τε καὶ λιμοῦ.”

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγων διετρόχαζε, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τάξεις ἐπήλπιζον καὶ μετὰ βοῆς παρέπεμπον εὐφήμεν. 126. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰδίους περιθέοντες τὴν τε δεξιὰν ὥρεγον, ἐφ' οὗς παραγένοντο, καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἔτι οἶδε ἐπέσπερχον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἐπέκρυπτον ὥς εὐκαιρον ἐς εὐτολμίαν προφέρειν. “εὐρομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πολεμίους· ἔχομεν οὗς ἐζητοῦμεν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν. μὴ δὴ τις ὑμῶν τὴν ἰδίαν πρόκλησιν καταισχύνη μηδὲ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐλάττων γένηται· μηδὲ λιμόν, ὅλεθρον ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἐπώδυνον, ἔλῃται μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίων τείχη καὶ σώματα, ἃ καὶ τόλμαις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ. ἔχει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπείξεως ὧδε τὰ παρόντα, ὥς μηδὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σήμερον περὶ ἀπάντων διακρίθῃναι μέχρι νίκης ἐντελοῦς ἢ εὐγενοῦς θανάτου. νικῶσι δ' ἔστι λαβεῖν διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια παρ' ἡμῶν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα, ἣν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοῖς μνημονεύωμεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

counsel, and because Brutus also, riding through the ranks on horseback, showed himself before them with a solemn countenance and reminded them of these things in such words as the opportunity offered. "You have chosen to fight," he said; "you have forced me to battle when I could conquer otherwise. Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy's position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine."

With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence. 126. Octavian and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, urging them even more solemnly to do their duty and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be an opportune incitement to bravery. "Soldiers," they said, "we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy, which yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honourable death. If you conquer you gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessities urging us on

CHAP.
XVI

Octavian
and Antony
encourage
their forces

CAP. XVI. τῶν ἐπειγόντων, εἴτα παραρρήξαντες εὐθὺς ἀποκλείωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἢ τὰ πεδία περιωθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος αὐθις ἀναφύοιτο μηδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀργίαν πάλιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διαδιδράσκειεν, οἱ δὲ ἄσθeneian, μόνοι δὴ πολεμίων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ μάχεσθαι.”

127. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρώτρυνον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιντο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν αἰδῶς ἀξίοις τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθεῖσαν ἐκ παραλόγου διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰουίῳ γενόμενα. ἡροῦντό τε ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ δέοι, τί παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμηχάνου κακοῦ δαπανώμενοι.

ᾧδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἐκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἠϋξετο μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεπίμπλαντο τόλμης ἀκαταπλήκτου· οὐδέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὅτι ἦσαν πολῖται οὐδὲ ἐπεμέμνητο, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐκ φύσεως καὶ γένους ἐχθροῖς ἐπηπείλουν. οὕτως ἢ παραυτίκα ὀργὴ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμαντεύοντο δὲ ὁμαλῶς ἐκάτεροι τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα κρινεῖν. καὶ ἐκρίθη.

128. Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοισ ἐπολέμουν· καὶ ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βρούτου βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὀξεῖα ἠγέρθη καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε καὶ ἀπηνής. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get away for another period of idleness—the only warriors, surely, who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight.”

127. In this way Octavian and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe.

Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his neighbour, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and so indeed it did.

128. The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour, when two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need

Prodigies
before the
battle

Second
battle of
Philippi

CAP.
XVI

λίθων ἢ ἀκοντισμάτων ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε πολέμου νόμῳ, ἐπὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ νίκης καὶ παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένου. φόνος δὲ ἦν καὶ στόνος πολὺς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτοῖς ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες καὶ ὀρώμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὁρμαῖς ἀνέφερον καὶ παρεκάλουν ποιοῦντας ἔτι προσπονήσαι καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ἐνήλλασσον, ὥστε ὁ θυμὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καινὸς ἦν.

Τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε διὰ δέος τοῦ λιμοῦ, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εὐτυχίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπίμεμπτοί γε ἦσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτριοι), τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὥσπερ τι μηχανήμα τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δ' ἀνεωθοῦντο μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω βάδην ἔτι καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος· ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἤδη παρελέλυτο, ὀξύτερον ὑπεχώρουν καί, τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχωρούντων, μισγόμενοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀκόσμως ἐθλίβοντο ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἕως ἔφευγον ἤδη σαφῶς. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μάλιστα τοῦ παρηγγελμένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι τὰς πύλας προελάμβανον σφόδρα ἐπικινδύνως (ἄνωθέν τε γὰρ ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου), μέχρι πολλοὺς ἐσδραμεῖν ἐκώλυσαν, οἱ διέφυγον ἐπὶ τε τὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory: on the other for victory and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the reserves. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardour, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front.

Finally, the soldiers of Octavian, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavian himself (for certainly the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were turning round a very heavy machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks broke and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavian, then especially mindful of the order they had received, seized the gates of the enemy's fortification at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining

CHAP.
XVI

CAP. θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ
 XVI Ζυγάκτου.

129. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον οἱ στρατηγοὶ διηροῦντο, Καῖσαρ μὲν αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυλάσσειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα ἦν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι συνεστῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις αὐτῶν, ὁρμῇ τε ὑπερηφάνῳ πάντα ἐβιάζετο ὁμοῦ. καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δείσας, μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόντες αὐθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ ἐκβολὰς τῆς μάχης, αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας· οἳ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὄρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ Θρακίῳ Ῥάσκῳ, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ὁδῶν συναπεσταλμένῳ, καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκυνηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρούρουν. οἱ δὲ Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχέτως ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Λουκίλιος ἰδὼν ὑπέστη καὶ ὡς Βροῦτος ὢν ἡξίου πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναχθῆναι· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα εἶναι Βροῦτος ἐνομίσθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπήντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει, τὴν τύχην ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τάνδρὸς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅπως Βροῦτον ὑποδέξαιτο. πλησιάσαντι δ' ὁ Λουκίλιος ἐντυχὼν μάλα θρασέως εἶπε· “ Βροῦτος μὲν οὐχ ἐάλωκεν, οὐδὲ ἀλώσεται ποτε πρὸς κακίας ἀρετῇ· ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε ἀπατήσας ᾧδέ σοι πάρειμι.” καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἱππέας ἰδὼν αἰδουμένους

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some through the river Zygactes to the mountains.

CHAP.
XVI

129. The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavian to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everything, and attacked everywhere, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all alike with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pursued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on furiously surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavian; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness. "You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by baseness. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horsemen were ashamed

The
republican
army
routed

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XVI. παρηγόρει καί, “οὐ μείονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν,” εἶπεν,
“ἀλλὰ ἀμείνονα ἥς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, ὅσῳ
κρείττων ἐχθροῦ φίλος.” καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε
μὲν τινι τῶν φίλων ἔδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὕστερον δὲ
αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐχρήτο ὡς πιστῷ.

XVII

CAP.
XVII. 130. Ὁ δὲ Βρούτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη
σὺν ἱκανῷ πλήθει, ὡς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
ὑποστρέψων ἢ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν·
ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέ-
ρευεν ἔνοπλος μετὰ πάντων. καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς
τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν·

“Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ’ ὃς αἷτιος κακῶν,”
ἐνσημαινόμενον ἄρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὃ καὶ αὐτὸν
Ἀντώνιον φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις
μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασ-
σίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπηρέτης γένοιτο
Ὁκταουίου. τότε γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔνο-
πλος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτηρίων ἀντιδιενυκτέρευε τῷ
Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περιθέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων
καὶ λαφύρων συμφορηθέντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς
μέσσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσον,
Νωρβανῷ φυλάσσειν παραδούς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

131. Βρούτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁρῶν τὰς
ἐφεδρείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη
τέσσαρα τέλη συναναβάντα οἱ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν
ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐφυλάξατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game you have caught for me is not worse, but better than you think—as much better as a friend is than an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the care of one of his friends, and later took him into his own service and employed him in a confidential capacity.

CHAP.
XVI

XVII

130. BRUTUS fled to the mountains with a considerable force, intending to return to his camp by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the night under arms with all his party, and it is said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed:—

CHAP.
XVII
Brutus
escapes
to the
mountains

"Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills,"¹

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of his own dangers, regretting that when he might have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he had become the tool of Octavian. At the present time, however, Antony passed the night under arms with his outposts over against Brutus, fortifying himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till midnight and then retired on account of his illness, leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp.

131. On the following day Brutus, seeing the enemy still lying in wait for him, and having fewer than four full legions, which had ascended the mountain with him, thought it best not to

His officers
decline to
fight again

¹ Eur. *Medea* 332.

CAP.
XVII

αἰδουμένους τε τὸ ἀμάρτημα καὶ μετανοοῦντας, ἔπεμπεν ἀποπειράσοντας αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐθελήσουσιν ὥσασθαι διὰ τῶν ἐφεδρειῶν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἴδια, ἔτι φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπολελειμμένων. οἱ δὲ ἀβουλότατα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ὀρμήσαντες, εὐψυχότατοι δὲ τὸ μέχρι πλείστου γενόμενοι, τότε, βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ στρατηγῷ σφῶν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀναξίως βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ· αὐτοὶ γάρ, τῆς τύχης πολλάκις πεπειραμένοι, οὐκ ἀνατρέψειν τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν διαλλαγὴν ἐλπίδα. καὶ ὁ Βρούτος ἐς τοὺς φίλους εἰπὼν· “οὐδὲν οὖν ἔτι εἰμὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος, ὥδε καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων,” ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν Ἡπειρώτην, ὄντα φίλον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ σώματι. τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλευέσθαι παραινοῦντος ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων, “οὐκ ἀπορήσεις,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Βρούτε, φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκετῶν ἐς τὰ ὕστατα προστάγματα, εἰ ἤδη κέκριται.” καὶ εἰπὼν ἐνήρεισε ταῖς λαγόσι τοῦ Βρούτου τὸ ξίφος οὔτε ἀποστραφέντος οὔτε ἐνδόντος.

132. Ὡς δὲ μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος καὶ Βρούτος ἐθνησκέτην, ἄνδρε Ῥωμαίων εὐγενεστάτῳ τε καὶ περιφανεστάτῳ καὶ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀδηρίτῳ, χωρὶς ἄγους ἐνός, ὃ γε καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου Πομπηίου μοίρας, ἐκ μὲν ἐχθροῖν καὶ πολεμίῳ ἐποιήσατο φίλῳ, ἐκ δὲ φίλοις ἠγεν ὥς υἱό. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ περιποθήτῳ τε εἶχεν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτυχήσαντε ἐλεεινὰ δυοῖν τε τούτοις ἕνεκα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, for some divine infatuation was already upon them, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, "I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men," and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato still urged him to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, "Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached." With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.

CHAP.
XVII

Brutus
commits
suicide

132. So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, but for one crime; for although they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Caesar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all times had a peculiar attachment to them, and commiseration for them when they fell into mis-

Characters
of Brutus
and Cassius

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XVII. πᾶσιν ἀμνηστίαν ἐτίθετο καὶ φυγόντοιν αὐτοῖν ἔπεμψεν ἡγεμονίας, ἵνα μὴ φυγάδες εἶεν, οὐκ ἀμελοῦσα μὲν Γαίου Καίσαρος οὐδὲ ἐφηδομένη τοῖς γεγυνοσιν, ὅπου καὶ ζῶντα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τύχης ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαπτε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκύρου τὰ ἔργα ἀθάνατα εἶναι ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐς πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐποίει τῶν Καίσαρος, οὐδὲν ἡγουμένη κρείσσον εὐρήσειν ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐνόησεν. ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τῷδε τῷ ἄνδρι σπουδὴ καὶ δέος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῖν προήγαγεν αὐτὴν ἐς ὑπεροψίαν διαβολῆς· οὕτως ἅπασιν ἐγενέσθην τιμίῳ. ἐγενέσθην δὲ καὶ τῶν φυγόντων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τιμιωτέρῳ Πομπηίου, πλησιάζοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλλακτον ἔχοντος αἰτίαν, πορρωτέρῳ τε ὄντε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτῳ.

133. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ ὅλοιν ἐτοῖν στρατιάν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιτῶν τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἄπειρα καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων, πολέμους τε ἐπολέμησαν ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατώρθουν. ἐθνῶν τε ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐφράτου· καὶ ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισαν καὶ βεβαιωτάτοις ἐχρήσαντο. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις, καὶ Παρθυαίοις καί περ οὖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μείζον

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fortune. On account of those two it granted CHAP. XVII amnesty to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregardful of Gaius Caesar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination—so much were those two held in honour by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were more honoured than [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not irreconcilable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable.

133. When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans;

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XVII

ἔργον οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον ἢ ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθίσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὁ στρατὸς ὁ πλείων ὅδε Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ δαιμονίως αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς ἐκείνους μετέπεισαν οἱ σφαγεῖς οἷδε τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἔσποντο αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Καίσαρος συναγωνιστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτῶν Βροῦτον ἢ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἡσσωμένους ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ πρὸ πείρας ἀπολιπόντες· ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς μέν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεί. σφῶν τε αὐτῶν, ὅτε μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἔτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ πατρίδι, ἅμφω κατεφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πόνοις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτί, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα· ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ὅπῃ γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.

134. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντίθετον ἐς ἅπαντα ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἐς Καίσαρα. ὁ γε οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐς φίλον ἐγίγνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργέτην ἐκ πολέμου περισώσαντα ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτοκράτορα ἀθεμίστως καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἱερέα καὶ ἱεράν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δυνάστην

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but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Caesar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Caesar and followed them more faithfully against Caesar's son than they had followed Antony, who was Caesar's companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were vanquished while some of them had abandoned Antony at Brundisium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforetime and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy; a specious name indeed, but always hurtful. Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labours Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything, having been a philosopher of no mean note.

134. Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Caesar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without equal, who was

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XVII

Their crime
against
Caesar

CAP. XVII. μὲν οἶον οὐχ ἕτερον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ
ἅπαντας τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον.
ἂ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἄρα ἐνεμέσῃσε καὶ
προεσήμνηε πολλάκις. Κασσίω τε γὰρ τὸν
στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ ῥαβδούχος ἀνεστραμμένον
τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε· καὶ Νίκη, χρύσειον ἀνά-
θημα Κασσίου, κατέπεσεν, ὄρνεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ
τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγγὴν οὐ-
δεμίαν ἠφίει, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐπεκάθηντο συνεχεῖς
ἔσμοί. Βροῦτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζοντά
φασι παρὰ τὸν πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερῇ πρὸς τὰ
τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλόγως τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἀναβοῆσαι·

“ἀλλὰ με μοῖρ’ ὁλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός.”
μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην
σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραινόμενον
τοῦ φωτὸς ὄψιν ἰδεῖν ἐφεστῶσάν οἱ παράλογον
καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅς τις ἀνθρώπων ἢ
θεῶν εἴη, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν· “ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε,
δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπ-
ποις.” καὶ ὀφθῆναί φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευ-
ταίας μάχης.

Ἐξιώντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίοψ
ὑπήντησε· καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαῦλον ὁ
στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ’ ἦν αὐτοῖς
ἄρα καὶ τάδε, Κάσσιον μὲν ἐν ἀμφηρίστῳ
νίκη πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογνῶναι, Βροῦτον δὲ εὐ-
βούλου βραδυτήτος ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας
ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσι διωκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δαψιλῶς

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most serviceable above all other men to Rome CHAP. XVII
and to its empire. For these reasons Heaven was incensed against them and often forewarned them of their doom. When Cassius was performing a lustration for his army his licitor placed his garland upon him wrong side up; a Victory, a gilded offering of Cassius, fell down. Many birds hovered over his camp, but uttered no sound, and swarms of bees continually settled upon it. While Brutus was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready man with such quotations, he shouted out this verse without any apparent cause:—

Cruel fate

Hath slain me, aided by Latona's son." ¹

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi." And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle.

The spectre
in Brutus'
tent

When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due, too, to something more than human, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had

¹ *Il.* xvi. 849.

CAP. XVII αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἀγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τότε παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγώνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἄμφω δ' αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθένται καθάπερ ἐγένοντο τοῦ Καίσαρος. Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

135. Καὶ Βρούτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέβαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστη φοινικίδι εὐθύς καὶ καύσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι Βρούτον, πρέσβεις ἐς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπον καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν διηρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. παρέδοσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ ὄντα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδόθη τοῖς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στρατοῖς διαρπάσαι. τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐμαχέσαντο μέχρι θανάτου· ὧν ἦν Λεύκιός τε Κάσσιος, ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος, ἐμπίπτων ὅδε τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἴθ' ὑποχωρούντων ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἵνα ἢ γνώριμος ἢ εὐβλητος ἢ ἀμφότερα εἴη. Λαβεὼν δέ, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ γνώριμος, ὁ πατὴρ Λαβεῶνος τοῦ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἔτι νῦν περιωνύμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυζάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ, περὶ ὧν ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέρειν ἔδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις· τοῦ δὲ πιστο-

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supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Caesar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus.

135. Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in the best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavian and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in the forts surrendered. The forts themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavian and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of the great Cassius, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave

CHAP.
XVII

Death of
young Cato

* CAP. XVII. ^α τάτου τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας αὐτόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπιστρεφόμενῳ ξίφος ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε.

Καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος ἐγένετο, 136. Ῥάσκος δὲ ὁ Θράξ ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν πολλούς, καὶ γέρας ἤτησέ τε καὶ ἔλαβε σῶζεσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ῥασκούπολιν· ᾧ καὶ διεδείχθη, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις οἶδε οἱ Θράκες διεφέροντο, ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε καὶ ἀμφηρίστων περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν συμφερόμενων τὸ ἀδηλον τῆς τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ νικῶν περισώζοι τὸν ἡσώμενον. Πορκία δ', ἡ Βρούτου μὲν γυνή, Κάτωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ νεωτέρου, ἐπεῖτε ἀμφοῖν ὧδε ἀποθανόντοιν ἐπίθето, φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάνυ ἐγκρατῶς, ἐσχάρας πυρὸς ἐνεχθείσης ἀρπάσασα τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατέπιεν. ὅσοι δ' ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐς Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ τῶν ὁμοτίμων Μεσσάλα τε Κορουίνῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὃ τι βούλεύσοιντο περὶ σφῶν, ποιεῖν περὶ ἀπάντων. οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύσαντι ἐς τὴν Θάσον παρέδοσαν, ὅσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ χρήματά τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ τροφαὶ δαψιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πολλή.

137. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τόλμης ἐπισφαλοῦς καὶ δυοῖν πεζομαχίαιν τηλικούτον ἔργον ἤνυστο, οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐγείετο πρὸ ἐκείνου. οὔτε γὰρ στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐς χεῖρας πρότερον ἦλθε Ῥωμαίων ἐκατέρωθεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ συντάξει πολιτικῇ στρατευσαμένων,

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by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the Roman custom in granting freedom, he handed him a sword as he turned, and presented his throat. And so his tent became his tomb.

CHAP.
XVII

136. Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascupolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they divided the chances of fortune in such a way that the victor might save the vanquished. Porcia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some hot embers that they were carrying on a brazier, and swallowed them. Of the other members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavian, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store.

Death of
Porcia

137. Thus did Octavian and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary

Magnitude
of the
victory

CAP.
XVII ἀλλὰ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ' ἀπειροπολέ-
μων ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπὶ τε
σφᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλα ἢ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπο-
μένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσσης μιᾶς ὄντες καὶ τέχνης
πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας,
δυσκαταγώνιστοι παρ' αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις. οὐδὲ
ὀρμῇ καὶ τόλμῃ τοσῆδ' εἰς τινες ἐχρήσαντο ἐν πολέμῳ,
πολιταί τε ὄντες ἀλλήλων καὶ οἰκέοι καὶ συστρα-
τιῶται γενόμενοι. τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ
ἀριθμός, ἐπανισουμένης ἑκατέρας μάχης, οὐκ
ἐλάσσων ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς νικῶσιν εἶναι.

138. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος
τὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς
ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ
καὶ δέος ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῇ καὶ σωτη-
ρίαν ἀσφαλῇ καὶ νίκῃν εὐκλεῇ μεταβαλόντες.
ἀπήντησέ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ συνιόντες ἐς τὴν
μάχην ἐπεμαντεύσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι· ἐκρίθη γὰρ
αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκείνο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα
καὶ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων
αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέησεν ὁμοίων, χωρὶς γε τῆς
μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος στάσεως,
ὑστάτης Ῥωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ
Βρούτον ὑπὸ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων
Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου φίλων, λείψανα τοσῆσδε
παρασκευῆς μεγάλα ἐχόντων, οὔτε ταῖς τόλμαις
ὅμοια ἔτι ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ πόλεων
ἢ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὀρμαῖς· οὐ γὰρ τις
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτι οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα
αὕτη, ὥς ἐς Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βρούτον, ἀπήντα.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK IV

conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons what we may call mutually invincible. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof or this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain even among the victors appeared to be not fewer than among the vanquished.

CHAP.
XVII

138. Thus the army of Antony and Octavian confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one blow from extreme danger and famine and fear of destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. Moreover, that result came about which Antony and Octavian had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavian not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that happened after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius.

Its lasting
results

BOOK V

Ε'

I

CAP. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον
^I ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος
 ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα
 βασιλὶς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσα ἐκράτει.
 ὁ δὲ ἔρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον
 ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἐπ' ἐκεί-
 νοις. ὅθεν ἂν τι καὶ Αἰγύπτιον εἴη τῆσδε τῆς
 βίβλου μέρος, ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιγραφῆς
 πω, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολὺ πλείοσιν
 οὖσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ
 Κασσιόν τε καὶ Βρούτου ἕτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια,
 στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ
 ἐκείνοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἐτέρων, μέχρι Πομπηΐος
 τε Σέξστος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου,
 λοιπὸς ὧν ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν
 Βρούτον ἐπανηρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ
 μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα
 περιῆλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντωνιόν τε καὶ Καί-
 σαρα. ἐγίνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα οὕτως.

2. Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπὶ κλην ὑπελέλειπτο
 μὲν ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
 ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασ-
 σίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὅμοιον ἐν

BOOK V

I

1. AFTER the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavian returned to Italy, but Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This passion brought ruin upon them and upon all Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this book will treat of Egypt—a small part, however, not worth mentioning in the title, since it is incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The latter wars were sporadic, till finally Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavian. These events came about in the following manner.

2. Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, had been left by Cassius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and an army to collect money. After the death of Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus,

CHAP.
I
The
scattered
Republican
forces

How they
were
reassembled

CAP. I. Βρούτῳ, Ῥοδίων ἐπελέξατο νῆας τριάκοντα, ὅσας ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διέπρησε χωρὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύναιντο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο ταῖς τε ἰδίαις καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ νεῶν τρισκαίδεκα, τοὺς Ῥοδίους νεωτερίζοντας εὐρών (ἐτεθνήκει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ὁ Βρούτος), ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὖσαν ὀπλιτῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρμήσιον ἐχώρει. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλιος, ἐτέρας ναῦς ἔχων πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὅσα προεξείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥόδου. ἐς δὴ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἤδη τινὰ ἰσχὺν συνέθεον, ὅσοι ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὀπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἢ δεσμωτῶν, ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν. ἦλθον δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς Θάσου διεπεφεύγесαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ σύνταξις ἀξιόχρεως ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ νεῶν. προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ' ἐτέρας δυνάμεως, ἡ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς Μούρκον καὶ Δομίτιον Ἀηνόβαρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῷ Μούρκῳ διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν Πομπηίῳ Σέξστῳ συνῆψαν, οἱ δὲ κατέμειναν παρὰ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τιν' αἵρεσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καθίσταντο.

Τοιαύδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρῶτα συνίστατο, 3. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, CHAP. I which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had another numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes. To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus,¹ with which he had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by themselves.

Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus.

3. After the victory of Philippi Octavian and Antony

¹ Brother of the triumvir.

CAP. I. Φιλίππους ἔθνόν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπῆνουν. καὶ ἐς τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπινικίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρει, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμήσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέξων (ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἶλετο διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν), ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθνη, συλλέξων τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηντο. διενείμαντο δὲ αὖθις ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθνη καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Λεπίδου. τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων ἐδόκει Καίσαρος ἀξιούντος αὐτόνομον ἀφίεναι γνώμη τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ὃ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι· καὶ ὥριστο, εἰ Καίσαρι ψευδὴς ἢ διαβολὴ φανείη, ἕτερα ἀντιδοῦναι τῷ Λεπίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοὺς ἐντελῆ χρόνον ἐστρατευμένους χωρὶς ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς δεηθέντας ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι σφίσιν ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο καὶ συνελόχισαν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς αὐτοῖς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ ἱππέες μύριοις καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἕξ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἱππέας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τέλη πέντε· καὶ τῶνδε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίῳ δύο ἔδωκεν, ἀντιληψόμενος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληνῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπολελειμμένων.

4. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυε καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πετρωνίου, συνεγνωκότος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army. In order to provide the rewards of victory Octavian went to Italy to divide the land among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He chose this himself on account of his illness. Antony went to the nations beyond the Aegean to collect the money that had been promised to the soldiers. They divided the provinces among themselves as before and took those of Lepidus besides. For it was decided, at the instance of Octavian to make Cisalpine Gaul independent, as the elder Caesar had intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius and it was decided that if Octavian should find that this accusation was false other provinces should be given to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in praetorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavian had five legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus.

4. Octavian then proceeded toward the Adriatic; but when Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of

CHAP.
I
Octavian
and Antony
after the
battle

Antony
in Asia

CAP. ¹ ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ Κοϊντου, προδόντος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Κασσίῳ Δολοβέλλαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατὰ τε πρεσβείας παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “ὕμᾱς ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἤμεν Ἀττάλου· οὓς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἐκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κοινωνῶμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς μισθουμένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑμῖν καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αἰτούντων, Γάιος Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ τρίτα ὑμῖν ἀνήκεν ὧν ἐκείνοις ἐφέρετε, τὰς δ’ ὑβρεῖς ἔπαυσεν· ὑμῖν γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. καὶ τόνδε τοιόνδε ὄντα οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν τύραννον ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς συνετελεῖτε χρήματα πολλά, σφαγεὺσί τε οὖσι τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ’ ἡμῶν τῶν τιμωρούντων ἐκείνῳ.

5. “Τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης οὐχ, ὥς ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ’, ὥς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσης τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν ὥς συναγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἔδει χρήσθαι, κολάσεως ὑμῖν ἔδει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκόντες πιστεύομεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τάδε πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων ἀφίεμεν, χρημάτων δὲ ἡμῖν δεῖ καὶ γῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Caesar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to CHAP. Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks ¹ and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace embassy, and others who had been summoned thither, Antony addressed them as follows: "Your King Attalus, O Greeks, left you to us in his will, and straightway we proved better to you than Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes that you had been paying to him, until the action of popular agitators also among us made these taxes necessary. But when they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans, who farmed these collections by the authority of the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than was due, Gaius Caesar remitted to you one-third of what you had paid to them and put an end to their outrages: for he turned over to you the collection of the taxes from the cultivators of the soil. And this was the kind of man that our honourable citizens called a tyrant, and you contributed vast sums of money to the murderers of your benefactor and against us, who were seeking to avenge him.

He makes
a public
speech at
Ephesus

5. "Now that just fortune has decided the war, not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to treat you as allies of our enemies we should be obliged to punish you. But as we are willing to believe that you were constrained to this course by necessity, we will release you from the heavier

CAP. ¹ καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δέ ἐστιν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιτῶν, ἃ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἀνευθεν οἱ ἱππέες καὶ ἕτερος ὄμιλος ἑτέρου στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλήθος τῆς χρείας συνορᾶν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς διαδώσων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἅπεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον εἰπεῖν, ἀναστήσων τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὑμᾶς δ', ἵνα μὴ γῆς καὶ πόλεων καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων ἀνίστησθε, ἐς τὰ χρήματα ἐλογισάμεθα, οὐδὲ ἐς ἅπαντα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναισθε), ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύτατον, ὃ καὶ πυθομένους ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσειν οἶομαι. ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι δύο (ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν), ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνα, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ ἔτει· ἐπεὶ γουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. συνείσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος ὑμῖν τοσοῦτον ἂν ἐπέποιμι, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἀμαρτήματος ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον ὀρίζεται."

6. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν τὴν χάριν περιφέρων, ὅτι, οἶμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνῃ συνηλλάσσοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ τάδε ὑπισχνούντο, ὃ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπενηνόχει· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνάγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου γενομένας ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξίας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐλέου, δόντες δ' ἂν τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐκόντες ἀπορεῖν διὰ τοὺς πολέμους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ

penalty, but we need money and land and cities as CHAP. I
 rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight
 legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries,
 amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry
 and various other arms of the service. The vast sum
 that we need for such a vast number of men you can
 easily imagine. Octavian has gone to Italy to
 provide them with the land and the cities—to
 expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we
 may not be under the necessity of expelling you
 from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs,
 we have assessed you for contribution not of
 all that you have (for you could not pay that), but
 a part, a very small part, which when you learn it,
 I think you will cheerfully pay. For what you
 contributed to our enemies in two years (and you
 gave them the taxes of ten years in that time)
 will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid
 in one year, because we are pressed by neces-
 sity. As you are sensible of our leniency toward
 you, I will merely add that the penalty imposed is
 not equal to any one of your deserts.”

6. Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for
 twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think
 that they had forty-three legions when they came to
 their agreement at Mutina and made these promises,
 but the war had probably reduced them to this
 number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking,
 threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that
 they had been subjected to force and violence by
 Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of
 pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly
 give to their benefactors, but that they had been
 stripped by their enemies, to whom they had de-

Distress
 of the
 inhabitants

CAP. I σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα χαλκεῦσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἐκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.

7. Περιμόντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη Λεύκιός τε ὁ Κασσίου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν δεδιότων ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συγγνώμης ἐπύθοντο, ἰκέται προσήεσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντας, πλὴν τοὺς συνεγνωκότας ἐπὶ φόνῳ Καίσαρος· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν. παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθούσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφίει καὶ Ξάνθον οἰκίζειν παραινῶν, Ῥοδίους δὲ διδοὺς Ἄνδρον τε καὶ Τήνον καὶ Νάξον καὶ Μύνδον, ἃς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀφηρέθησαν ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων· καὶ Ταρσέων τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι. Ἀθηναίοις δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ Τήνον Αἴγινα ἐδωκε καὶ Ἴκον καὶ Κέω καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρηθον. ἐπιπαριῶν δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἅπασιν ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας καὶ διήτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθην τε καὶ Σισίνην, ὧν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνου

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

livered not only their money, but, in default of CHAP.
money, their plate and their ornaments, and who ^I
had coined these things into money in their presence.
Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the
amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, pay-
able in two years. It was ordered that the kings,
princes, and free cities should make additional
contributions according to their means, respectively.

7. While Antony was making the circuit of the Antony
makes a
tour of the
eastern
provinces
provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and
some others, who feared for their own safety, when
they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented
themselves to him as suppliants. He released them
all except those who had been privy to the murder
of Caesar: to these alone he was inexorable. He
gave relief to the cities that had suffered most
severely. He released the Lycians from taxes alto-
gether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus; he
gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and
Myndus, which were taken from them not long
afterward because they ruled them too harshly; he
made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released
them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of
Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated
by an order. To the Athenians when they came to
him to ask for Tenos he gave Aegina and Icos, Ceos,
Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phry-
gia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Coele-Syria,
Palestine, Ituraea, and the other provinces of Syria,
he imposed heavy contributions on all, and acted as
arbiter between kings and cities,—in Cappadocia,
for example, between Ariarthes and Sisina, awarding
the kingdom to Sisina on account of his mother,
Glaphyra, who struck him as a beautiful woman. In

CAP. Γλαφύρας· ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει
¹ τυράννους.

8. Καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι πόνων· τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἢ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἱ τέσσαρα τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα πέμψειε, καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἔτοιμον ἔχουσα κωλυθείη ὑπὸ τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἥσσης τυχόντος, Κασσίῳ τε δις ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχήσειε καὶ σφίσιν ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐτὴ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσειε μετὰ παρασκευῆς βαρυτάτης, οὔτε δείσασα Κάσσιον οὔτε φυλαξαμένη Μοῦρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμῶν τά τε ἄλλα διελυμήνατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσον ἐνέβαλεν, ἥς δὴ χάριν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἐπαναχθῆναι νευικηκότων ἤδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεὶς εὐθύς αὐτῆς μεираκιωδῶς ἐαλῶκει, καίπερ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς, λεγόμενος μὲν ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα αἰεὶ φῦναι, λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταύτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἔτι οὔσαν, ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὄψεως λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίῳ στρατεύοντι νέος ἱππαρχῶν εἶπετο.

9. Εὐθύς οὖν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἡ περὶ ἅπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἡμβλύνετο, Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὁ τι προστάξειεν, ἐγίγνετο, οὐ διακριδὼν ἔτι περὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἢ δικαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἱκέτιν οὔσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυγηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνείλε, καὶ Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another. CHAP.
I

8. Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labours in avenging Caesar. Instead of apologising she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; but that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a powerful fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had fallen in love with her at first sight long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria.

9. Straightway Antony's former interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus, Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death; and Serapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted

He meets
Cleopatra
in Cilicia
and
becomes
her slave

The murder
of Arsinoe

CAP.
I. συμμαχήσαντα Κασσίω, Τυρίων ὄντα ἰκέτην, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Τυρίους ἐκδοῦναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἐκδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραδίους ἕτερον ἰκέτην, ὃν τινα, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφανοῦς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίᾳ γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα Πτολεμαίου εἶναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν Μεγάβυζον ἡγοῦνται, ὑποδεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασιλίδα ἀχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἐφεσίων δ' αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἰκετευσάντων μεθῆκεν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀποπλευσιάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεία, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μακρὰν οὔσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ὄντες ἐφόριοι ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον (ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων), ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς ἱππέας περιουσιάσαι. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευασμένων τόξοις, πρὸς ἃ πεφύκασιν ἐξαιρέτως, οἱ ἱππέες τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν, οὔτε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

10. Καὶ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθυικὸν πόλεμον ἐξάψαι, πολλῶν ἐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Cassius and was now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony CHAP. I ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Aradians to deliver up another suppliant, who when Ptolemy, the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with Caesar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Arcadians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called the Megabyzus,¹ and who had once received Arsinoe as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that afterwards befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusation against its inhabitants, that being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia from Persia and dispose of them in the Roman territory; but in fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen. However, the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they are expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned round and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

Unsuccessful
attack upon
Palmyra

10. It seems that this course on Antony's part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from

¹ A title.

CAP. Συρίας τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἡ γὰρ
¹ Συρία μέχρι μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ
 τὸν τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκ
 Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὥς μοι
 περὶ Σύρων λέγοντι εἴρηται. Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν
 Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῇ
 Σκαῦρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ Σκαῦρον
 ἔπεμψεν ἐτέρους καὶ Γαβίνιον τὸν Ἀλεξαν-
 δρεῦσι πολεμήσαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ Κράσσου
 τὸν ἐν Παρθυαίοις ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βύβλον ἐπὶ
 τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαίου Καίσαρος ἄρα
 τελευτὴν καὶ στάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ
 τυράννων εἶχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις
 τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν
 Συρίαν οἱ Παρθυαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμ-
 φορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν τοῖς τυράννοις. οὓς ὁ
 Ἀντώνιος ἐξελαύνων ὑποφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν Παρ-
 θυνην καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς
 βαρυτάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνοὺς τάδε ἀμαρτῶν,
 οὐδ' ἐπέμεινε συστήσαι τὴν χώραν θορυβουμένην,
 ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμάσοντα
 αὐτοὺς ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.

11. Ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ σημείων ἡγεμονίας, ἰδιώ-
 του σχῆμα καὶ βίον ἔχων, εἴθ' ὥς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τε
 ἀρχῇ καὶ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, εἴτε τὴν χειμασίαν
 ὡς πανήγυριν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέ-
 θειτο καὶ ἡγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἶχε
 τετράγωνον Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου, καὶ
 ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ
 καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. ἑξοδοί τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, ^{CHAP.}
until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son, ¹
Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of
Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian
history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and
Scaurus was appointed praetor over it. After Scaurus
the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who
made war against the Alexandrians, and after
Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian
war, and after Crassus, Bibulus. At the time of
Caesar's death and the intestine strife which
followed, tyrants had possession of the cities one
by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians,
who made an irruption into Syria after the disaster
to Crassus and co-operated with the tyrants. Antony
drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia.
He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses
and committed the outrage already mentioned
against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the
disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed
his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and
himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra.

Antony
goes to
Egypt to
join
Cleopatra

11. She gave him a magnificent reception, and he
spent the winter there without the insignia of his
office and with the habit and mode of life of a
private person, either because he was in a foreign
jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because
he regarded his wintering as a festal occasion ; for he
even laid aside the cares and escort of a general, and
wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead
of the costume of his own country, and the white
Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests,
which they call the *phaeccusium*. He went out only to
the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. I. *ἱερὰ ἢ γυμνάσια ἢ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μόναι καὶ δίαίτα μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρα, ἣ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.*

II

CAP. II. 12. *Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἦν τοιάδε· Καίσαρι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανιόντι ἣ τε νόσος αὐθις ἤκμαζεν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως, καὶ φήμη διήνεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. ῥαῖσας δ' ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τὰ γράμματα ἐδείκνυε τὰ Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δὲ Καληνόν τε προσέτασσον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δύο τέλη τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέστελλον Σεξτίῳ Λιβύῃ καὶ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἀποστήναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐποίουν, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἀμαρτεῖν δόξαντι Λεπίδῳ Λιβύην ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγραφαῖς δεδημευμένων διεπίπρασκε. καταλέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπινέμονται δυσεργές ἦν. οἳ τε γὰρ στρατιῶται τὰς πόλεις ἤτουν, αἱ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδην ἦσαν ἐπειλεγμένοι πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἡξίουσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ἐπινείμασθαι τὸ ἔργον ἢ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τε γῆς τὴν τιμὴν τοὺς δωρουμένους ἤτουν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ συνιόντες ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἳ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλιῶται δὲ ὄντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἐστίας οἷα δορίληπτοι. ἐφ'*

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

learned, and spent his time with Greeks, out of CHAP. I
deference to Cleopatra, to whom his sojourn in
Alexandria was wholly devoted.

II

12. SUCH was the state of affairs with Antony. CHAP. II
As Octavian was journeying to Rome his illness Octavian
became acute at Brundisium, and a rumour gained returns
currency that he was dead. On his recovery to Rome
he returned to the city and showed to Antony's
friends the letters Antony had written. The
Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavian the
two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn
that province over to him. This was the course of
the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus
had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavian
transferred Africa to him in exchange for his
former provinces. He also sold the remainder of
the property confiscated under the conscriptions.
The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies
and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty.
For the soldiers demanded the cities which had been
selected for them before the war as prizes for their
valour, and the cities demanded that the whole of
Italy should share the burden, or that the cities
should cast lots with the other cities, and that those
who gave the land should be paid the value of it;
and there was no money. They came to Rome in
crowds, young and old, women and children, to the
forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying
that they had done no wrong for which they,
Italians, should be driven from their fields and their
hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The

Consternation among
the Italians

CAP. II. οἷς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθοντο καὶ ἐπεδάκρυν, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τὸν τε πόλεμον γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας συνισταμένας τοῦ μὴδ' αὖθις ἀνακῦψαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρφοκισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόρων ἐτοίμων, ἐς ὃ τι χρῆζοιεν.

13. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξελογεῖτο τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἐδόκουν οὐδ' ὥς ἀρκέσειν. οὐδ' ἦρκουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπέβαινε σὺν ὕβρει, πλεονά τε τῶν διδομένων σφίσι περισπώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήσσοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένου πολλὰ ἄλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγκρατὲς τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία παρώδευε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡ χρεία συνῆγεν ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ὧν ἔλαβον, ἡ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχὴ παραμένουσα. ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπικρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες, ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις αὐτῶν ἐδωρεῖτο, δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ. ὅθεν τὴν γνώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων ὑπήντα χάρις ὡς γῆν ἅμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρουμένῳ καὶ καταβοωμένῳ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a change of the form of government; that the colonies were established to the end that democracy should never again lift its head,—colonies composed of hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readiness for whatever purpose they might be wanted.

CHAP.
II

13. Octavian explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbours in an insolent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands; nor did they cease even when Octavian rebuked them and made them numerous other presents, since they were contemptuous of their rulers in the knowledge that they needed them to confirm their power, for the five years' term of the triumvirate was passing away, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual security. The chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance of their government, while, for the possession of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the permanence of the government of those who had given it. Believing that they could not keep a firm hold unless the givers had a strong government, they fought for them, from necessity, with good-will. Octavian made many other gifts to the indigent soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him, and the greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the

Confiscation
and division
of the land

CAP. II. μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων, φέροντι δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

14. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν ὃ τε ἀδελφὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος Ἀντώνιος, ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φουλβία καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιτροπεύων τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Μάνιος, ἵνα μὴ Καίσαρος δόξειε τὸ ἔργον ἅπαν εἶναι μηδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέροιτο μηδ' ἔρημος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἐτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπείγοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν ἡξίουεν Καίσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς μὲν συνθήκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καίσαρι διδούσης, ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ὥς οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τὴν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ τὰ παιδιά τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μάλα ἐπιφθόνως ἰκέτενον μὴ περιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἤκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἅπαν ἡγοῦντο Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἡγνόει μὲν ἀδικούμενος ἐς τὰ συγκεείμενα, εἶξε δὲ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τέλεσιν ἀπέφαινον, οἱ δὲ οἰκισταὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἵνα τι καὶ δοκοῖεν εὐνοώστεροι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχώρουν ἔτι πλεον ἀδικεῖν. ἄλλο δὲ πλῆθος ἦν ἐτέρων πόλεων, αἱ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled, and as one who bore this contumely for the army's sake.

CHAP.
II

14. Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavian, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favour of the soldiers. As this evidently could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavian should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavian exclusively; they made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present. They themselves brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in terms such as would cause ill feeling, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its height, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavian's illness. Although Octavian was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favour to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear more favourable to the soldiers than Octavian was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from another group

Beginning
of trouble
with Lucius
Antonius

CAP.
11 ταῖς νενεμημέναις γειτονεύουσαί τε καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀδικούμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀδικωτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἀποικίσεις τῶν προγραφῶν· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι γίγνεσθαι.

15. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἡγνόει ἀδικουμένους. ἀμήχανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ· οὔτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἦν ἐς τιμὴν τῆς γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὔτε ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια διὰ τοὺς ἔτι πολέμους, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν κλείοντος ἐς λιμὸν, Ἀηνοβάρβου δὲ καὶ Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἄλλας ἀγειρόντων ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὄντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινίκια λάβοιεν. πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἤδη τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρήζειν αὐθις εὐνοίας στρατοῦ· διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ἢ καταφρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἐκὼν ὑπερεώρα. ἔν γέ τοι τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν οἰκείας ἔδρας παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας· καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἡγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην ἀπήτουν, οὐχ ὁρώμενον ἡγούμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελθόντα δὲ ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου νῦν προαχθῆναι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V.

of communities, neighbours of the dispossessed ones, suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers, and crying out against Octavian, saying that the colonisation was worse than the proscription, since the latter was directed against foes, while the former was against unoffending persons.¹

CHAP.
II
Outrages
committed
by the
soldiers

15. Octavian knew that these citizens were suffering injustice, but he was without means to prevent it, for there was no money to pay the value of the land to the cultivators, nor could the rewards to the soldiers be postponed, on account of the enemies who were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and was reducing the city to famine by cutting off supplies: Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a new fleet and army: the soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former service. It was a matter of much importance that the five years' term of office was running out, and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance. Once in the theatre when he was present, a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavian had him removed. The soldiers were angry. They gathered around Octavian as he was going away from the theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they did not see him, they thought that he had been put to death. When he was produced before them they supposed that he had been brought from prison, but he denied that he had been imprisoned and related

Octavian
powerless
to prevent
them.

¹ Among the dispossessed were the poets, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius.

CAP. 11. ἀρνούμενόν τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύ-
δεσθαι διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν ὥς τὰ
κοινὰ προδιδόντα· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
γενόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.

16. Κεκλημένοι δ' ἐπὶ νέμῃσιν τότε γῆς ἐς τὸ
πεδίου τὸ Ἄρειον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφί-
κοντο, καὶ βραδύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος
ἐπιόντος ἡγανάκτουν. Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέ-
πλησεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρησίᾳ, τό τε πρέπον
τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἄρχοντα προφέρων καὶ
τὴν Καίσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπεροψίαν. οἱ δὲ
αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὥς κόλακα,
πλέονος δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενο-
μένου ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα
ἐδίωκον ἔς τε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξαλόμενον ἐξιερύ-
σαντες ἔκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἔνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ
Καῖσαρ ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καίσαρι
παρήνουν μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν ἐς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκ-
στήναι μανιώδει φορᾷ. ὁ δ' ἐπῆει μὲν, ἀναθρέ-
ψειν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος τὸ μανιώδες,
εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἰδὼν ἐξέκλινεν,
ὥς δὲ ὀλίγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμφετο
καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀλλήλων φείδεσθαι παρήνει
καὶ τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις
ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων ἐνίοις ἐδίδου παρὰ
γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπλαγὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

what had taken place. They said that he had been instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of their insolence in the theatre.¹

CHAP.
II

16. Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavian delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavian's illness, not any disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant; then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavian was about to pass along. So the friends of Octavian advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded; they repented and were ashamed of their

The murder
of Nonius

¹ Suetonius (*Aug.* 14) relates this incident in the theatre. He says that Octavian narrowly escaped with his life, and was saved only by the sudden appearance of the man safe and sound.

CAP.
II. βαρύτητος μετενόει καὶ ἡδεῖτο καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸν Νώνιον ἀμαρτόντας ἡξίου ἀνευρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδότη σφῶν μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει. οἱ δὲ συγγνώμῃς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμῇς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιοθέντες εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εὐφήμεουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

17. Καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αἶδε ἔστων τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας· αἴτιον δ' ἦν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόνητοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ὡς ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρεία τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκῃ νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους κοινούς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους ἐχθρούς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ξένους, ἀλλὰ πολίτας καὶ ὁμοτίμους. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν φόβον ἐξέλυεν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι νομίζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκείᾳ χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡγουμένους ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεῖσθαι. τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιάλλακτον ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἡξιούτο· καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἱ τε στρατοὶ κατὰ πλήθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἕτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραν κοινὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκρίκτο· ἢ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὡς ἀπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούτων, εὐχερεστέρους ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολήν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

importunity ; they condemned themselves and asked him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. He replied that he knew them and would punish them only with their own guilty consciences and the condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus honoured with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed at once to joyful acclamations.

17. Let these two instances out of many serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen ; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country ; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together ; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises ; not against the common enemy, but against private foes ; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favour and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a like cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that

CHAP.
II

Insubordin-
ation and
desertion
and the
causes
thereof

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
II. ὥς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι⁷ βοηθοῦντας. ἅ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἔφερον, ὥς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.

III

CAP.
III. 18. Οὕτω μὲν ἐς στάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐς δυσαρχίαν τοῖς στάσιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέτραπτο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λιμὸς ἐπέβλεπεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιον, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοὺς στρατοὺς ἔδαπανᾶτο. ἐκλώπυνόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἔτι βιαιότερον ἠνώχλουν, καὶ ἠνώχλουν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὁ δὲ λεὼς ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξανίστη, ὥς οὔτε ἀρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρήζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ ληστευομένῃ πόλει.

19. Λευκίῳ δὲ ὄντι δημοτικῶ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένη, προσκρούσματα ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἐγίνετο καὶ διαφοραὶ μείζους· τοὺς τε γεωργοὺς, ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἀφηροῦντο, ἰκέτας γιγνομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἐκάστου μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο, κακείνων ὑπισχνουμένων ἀμυνεῖν, ἐς ὃ κελεύοι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥς ἀντιπράσσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβίᾳ ὥς πολεμοποιούντα ἐν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

one could serve his country in any party. Under-
standing these facts the generals tolerated this be-
haviour, for they knew that their authority over their
armies depended on donatives rather than on law.

CHAP.
II

III

18. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the
armies indulged in insubordination toward the
leaders of the factions, while famine began to afflict
Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius,
and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. What-
ever food was produced was consumed by the troops.
Most of them committed robberies by night in the
city. There were acts of violence worse than
robbery which went unpunished, and these were
supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The
people closed their shops and drove the magistrates
from their places as though there were no need of
courts of justice, or of the useful arts, in a city
oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands.

CHAP.
III
Famine
in Rome

19. Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and
ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed
not likely to come to an end at the appointed time,
fell into controversy, and even graver differences,
with Octavian. He alone received kindly, and
promised aid to the agriculturists who had been
deprived of their lands and who were now the sup-
pliants of every man of importance; and they pro-
mised to carry out his orders. So Antony's soldiers,
and Octavian also, blamed him for working against
Antony's interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stir-
ring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius

Lucius
Antonius
espouses
the cause
of the
citizens

CAP.
III. ἀκαίρῳ, μέχρι τὴν Φουλβίαν ὁ Μάνιος πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ὡς εἰρηνευομένης μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιμενεῖν Ἀντώνιον Κλεοπάτρα, πολεμουμένης δ' ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ ἤδη γυναικὸς τι παθοῦσα ἡ Φουλβία τὸν Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν διαφοράν. ἐξιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ἔπεμπεν ἐφομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας ἅμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλέον ἔχοι. ἱππέων δὲ Καῖσαρος ἐκτρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττίων ἡίονα, πορθουμένην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἢ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τόδε τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας, συλλεγόμενος φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καῖσάρα τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρας γνώμης αὐτοὺς πολεμοποιεῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσσοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὰς ἀποικίας ἔχουσι βεβαίους· καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίοις τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

20. Ὡν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυνθανόμενοι διήτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανῷ καὶ συνήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυομένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τὰ τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμὰς τῶν ἔτι πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπ' ἴσης διανέ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia, moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to discord. While Octavian was leading out the last of the colonies she sent the children of Antony, together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he should not acquire too great *éclat* with the army by being seen alone. A body of Octavian's cavalry made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought or pretended to think that it had been sent against himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he betook himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a body-guard, and accused Octavian to the soldiers as being treacherous to Antony. Octavian replied that everything was on a friendly and harmonious footing between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was trying to stir up a war between them for another reason, in that he was working against the triumvirate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders.

20. When the officers of the army learned these facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavian at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of the fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs; that the land should be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi; that of the money derived from confiscated property, and of the value of that which was still to be sold, Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share;

CHAP.
III

An
arbitration
between
Lucius and
Octavian

CAP.
III μεσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἔτι καταλέγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἀνεῶχθαι δὲ τὰς Ἀλπεις τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς ἔτι Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνηλλαγμένον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἀδεῶς. τάδε μὲν ἦν, ἃ συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπράχθη γε μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ τελευταῖα· καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε τὰς Ἀλπεις.

21. Οὐ γιγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βραδυνόντων, ἐς Πραίνεστον ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδιέναι λέγων Καίσαρα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δορυφορούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀφροῦρητος ὢν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἥδη λέγουσα περὶ τοῖς τέκνοις δεδιέναι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος προτίθει. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ' ἐκατέρων Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οἳ διδάξειν ἔμελλον περὶ ἐκάστων. καὶ οὐχ εὖρον ἐρευνώμενος, ὃ τι σαφῶς ἀντεγράφετο αὐτοῖς. οἳ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνες συνομόσαντες κρινεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐθις, ὃ δοκοίη δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ σὺναναγκάσειν, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἐν τε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστοις ἐπεμέμφετο, οἳ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

that neither Antony nor Octavian should draw soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter ; that two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavian in the campaign against Pompeius ; that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by Octavian into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should not further interfere with them ; that Lucius should be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense with his body-guard, and administer his office fearlessly. Such was the agreement which they made with each other through the influence of the officers of the army. Of these only the two last were carried into effect, Salvidienus crossing the Alps with him, but unwillingly.

CHAP.
III

21. As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Praeneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavian, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he himself was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lepidus, saying now that she had fears for her children. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavian. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision ; and they summoned Lucius and his friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and Octavian reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of

CAP. III δὲ ἐξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρεκάλουν οἰκτεῖραι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῶ νόμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.

22. Αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὁ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἔφη τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χρήματα μόνα ἀγείρειν ἐν ξένοις ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ἐπίκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς θεραπέας προκαταλαμβάνειν· τὴν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρότερον δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν μετ' ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαρσί τε καὶ τριάκοντα τέλεσιν ἀντὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν συμμαχησάντων ἐπινέμειν οὐ γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὥς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδέ πω παρατάττεται λιμωτοῦσης ὧδε τῆς πόλεως, διαιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς θεραπέαν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὐ πιπράσκοντα μᾶλλον ἢ δωρούμενον αὐτοῖς. χρῆναι δέ, εἰ τῷ ὄντι εἰρηνεύειν ἐθέλοι, τῶν μὲν ἤδη διωκημένων ὑποσχεῖν λόγον, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἂν κοινῇ βουλευομένοις δοκῇ, μόνα πράσσειν. οὕτω μὲν θρασέως ὁ Μάνιος ἡξίου μήτε τὸν Καίσαρά τινος εἶναι κύριον ἔργου μήτε τὴν Ἀντωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὠρισμένου τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἑκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ τὸ

Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to consent that by common agreement the decision should rest with themselves or with the officers.

CHAP.
III

22. Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavian was, by his favours, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy ; for that defrauding Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony ; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities ; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine ; that he had distributed this money in order to curry favour with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers outright ; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he should give his account for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavian could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what

The trouble
breaks out
afresh

CAP.
III. πρᾶσσόμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων εἶναι κύριον. πανταχόθεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐώρα πολεμῆσειοντας αὐτούς, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι.

23. Δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐς Ἀγκῶνα πόλιν ὤκισμένα, Καίσαρί τε ὄντα πατρῶα καὶ ἐστρατευμένα Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἰδίας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν πυθόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐκάτερον σφῶν οἰκειότητα αἰδούμενοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἱ ἔμελλον ἐκατέρων ἐς διαλύσεις δεήσεσθαι. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμείσθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ, κοινῇ πάντες ἐς Λεύκιον ἐπρέσβευον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐς δίκην Καίσαρι συνελθεῖν· δῆλοί τε ἦσαν, ὃ πράξειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέχοιτο. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον, χωρίον τε ὠριστο τῇ δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλις ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραίνεστοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγίνετο καὶ βήματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἐροῦσιν ὥς ἐν δίκῃ. πρότερος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν πάροδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένους ἄρα, μή τίς ποθεν ὀρῶτο ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἱππέες οἶδε ἐτέροις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἄρα ἢ καὶ τοῖσδε κατασκόποις, συμβαλόντες ἔκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε δείσας ὁ Λεύκιος, ὥς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν· καλούμενός τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψειν αὐτὸν ὑπισχνουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπείθετο.

24. Οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἄπρακτοι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἤδη πικροῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

was done by the other. When Octavian saw that they were everywhere preparing for war, each side made similar preparations.

CHAP.
III
Preparations
for war

23. Two legions of the army which had been colonised at Ancona and which had served under the elder Caesar and under Antony, hearing of the respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavian replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavian to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Praeneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavian, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision killed some of them. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again.

Another
arbitration
proposed

24. Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavian and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations even now full of bitterness against each

The
negotiations
are fruitless

CAP. III. κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχρῶντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ὀπλιτῶν ἕξ τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐλθὼν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἑνδεκα ἕτερα, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύῃ τέσσαρα ἦν τέλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ στρατηγίδες, ἕξ δὲ ἕτερα Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἦγεν ἕξ Ἰβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ἕξ ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ πολεμουμένων, Καίσαρι δέ, ἃ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς Σαρδοῦς ἐπολεμεῖτο, ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδανείζετο, σὺν χάριτι ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀπὸ τε Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουβίου καὶ Νεμοῦς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν δαψιλεῖς.

25. Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἕξω. Πομπήιος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Λευκίου διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες ἢ τὰ ὄντα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλιστα· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεότης ὠρμημένη στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν, ὑφ' ὅτῳ στρατεύσονται, Ῥωμαίοις πανταχοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρουν ὥς δικαιότερα αἰρούμενον. γεγέννητό τε πλούσιος ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίας λείας καὶ ναῦς εἶχε πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐντελῆ. Μοῦρκός τε ἀφικτο αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus; these were all in Italy. Octavian had four legions at Capua and his praetorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain.¹ Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. But war was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavian except Sardinia,² for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks—from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus,³ and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money.

25. The affairs of Octavian were in disorder outside of Italy also. For Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonising of the soldiers, and these dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and full crews. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large

CHAP
III

Growing
power of
Sextus
Pompeius

¹ The text says "*from Spain*," but this is obviously an error, perhaps Appian's own. See c. 27 below.

² There is perhaps a gap in the text here. ³ Near Aricia.

CAP. III ναῦς ὀγδοήκοντα· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ Κεφαλληνίας μετεπέμπετο. ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρῶς ἂν τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῆσαι, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρμένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώσης.

26. Ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε ἥσσω ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Σέξστιος, ὑπαρχος Ἀντωνίου, παρεδεδώκει μὲν ἄρτι τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπὸ Λευκίου κεκελευσμένος, Φάγγωνι τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλὲν αὐθις ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπολέμει, συναγαγὼν τινὰς τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ Λιβύων πλῆθος ἄλλο καὶ ἑτέρους παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἡττηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερῶν ἑκατέρων καὶ ληφθέντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁ Φάγγων ἡγούμενος ἐκ προδοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο. καὶ Λιβύης μὲν αὐθις ὁ Σέξστιος ἑκατέρας ἐκράτει· Βόκχον δὲ τὸν Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλεῖα Λεύκιος ἔπεισε πολεμεῖν. Καρρίνα τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἀγνόβαρβός τε ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ στρατοῦ δύο τέλεσι καὶ τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς καὶ μονομάχοις περιπλέων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἔς τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπιπλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τριήρων τὰς μὲν εἶλε, τὰς δὲ ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς Βρεντεσίους ἐς τὰ τεῖχῃ κατέκλεισε καὶ τὴν χώραν προυνόμειεν.

27. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον στρατιωτῶν τέλος ἔπεμπε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὁδοῦ μετεκάλει. τοὺς τε στρατολογήσοντας σφίσιν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

sum of money, and eighty ships; he also sent for CHAP. III the other army from Cephallenia. Accordingly, some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was wasted with famine and civil strife, and was looking for him, he might easily have mastered it.

26. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed in that also. In Africa Sextius, Affairs in Africa Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavian. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauretania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavian's procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundisium, captured some of the triremes of Octavian, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory.

27. Octavian sent a legion of soldiers to Brundisium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavian and Lucius sent recruiting officers throughout Italy, who had skir- Beginning of hostilities

CAP. III. Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος περιέπεμπον· πείραι τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους βραχύ-τεραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνέδραι πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ εὐνοια τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὥς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχομένοις πολεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ πόλεις ἔτι μόναι, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἅπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβουμένη τὰ ὅμοια· τοὺς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κιχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰ τείχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρου. ἐχώρου δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὥς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἤδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκάτεροι διαρούμενοι.

28. Καὶ τῶνδε γιγνομένων ὁ Καίσαρ ὅμως ἔτι τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε· “καταγινώσκομαι μὲν, εὖ οἶδα, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτούς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἀτολμίαν, ἃ καὶ νῦν μου καταγνώσονται διὰ τήνδε τὴν σύνοδον ὑμῶν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὅσος τέ μοι συναδικεῖται τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀφαιρούμενος ὑπὸ Λευκίου καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, ὃν ἔχω, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τῆς γνώμης μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἡδύ μοι πολεμεῖν ἐμφυλίους πολέμους χωρὶς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἢ Θράκης ἀκουσθησομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἣν πόσα χρὴ χωρὶς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνδρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γιγνομένην στάδιον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τὰδε ὀκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

mishes with each other of more or less importance, and frequent ambuscades. The good-will of the
III
Italians was of great service to Lucius, as they believed that he was fighting for them against the new colonists. Not only the cities that had been designated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy, rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money from the temples for Octavian, manned their walls, and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the colonised soldiers joined Octavian. Each one in both parties took sides as though this were his own war.

28. Though these events were taking place, Octavian nevertheless convoked the Senate and the equestrian order and addressed them as follows: "I know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his friends of weakness and want of courage because I do not fight them, and that I shall be still further accused on account of my calling you together. But I have strong forces who have suffered wrong in common with me, both those who have been dispossessed of their colonies by Lucius and the others whom I have in hand; and I am strong in all other respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens in conflicts with each other; least of all in this civil war, whose horrors will not be announced to us from Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must suffer countless evils in addition to the loss of life. For these reasons I hesitate. And now I do still protest

Octavian
seeks peace

CAP.
III. ἀδικεῖν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐλέγξει τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον τάδε δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαι μοι παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθονται μηδὲ νῦν, ἐκείνοις μὲν αὐτίκα δείξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐβουλίαν, οὐ δειλίαν οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶ μάρτυρας εἶναί μοι καὶ συνίστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου."

29. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς τὸ Πραίνεστον ἐξέτρεχον· καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη προειλήφασιν ἀμφοτέροι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἄρτι πέμψας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον κωλύειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπανιόντα. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, εἴτε πλασάμενος εἴτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, εἴαν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῇ. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῖτό τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως Ἀντωνίου, καὶ προκαλουμένων ἐς δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἕτερα αὖ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ Μάνιος, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ Καίσαρι, εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγγεῖλας ἕκαστος εἴτε δι' ἑτέραν γνώμην εἴτε ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀνέφκτο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξήει, φύλακα τῆς Ῥώμης Λέπιδον σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυν οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

that I do Antony no wrong, nor do I suffer any wrong from him, but I beseech you to reason with Lucius and his friends on your own account, and to bring them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot even now persuade them, I shall presently show them that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by cowardice ; and I ask you to be witnesses for me not only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius.”

CHAP.
III

29. So spake Octavian. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Praeneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavian was practising deception ; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundisium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed also a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away unsuccessful. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavian, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavian set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the aristocrats then most clearly showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs,

Ineffectual
embassy
to Lucius

IV

CAP.
IV 30. Καὶ ἦν τὰ κεφαλαια τοῦ πολέμου τοιάδε. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ Ἄλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐχώρει· ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Λευκίου, φθάσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Λεύκιος ἀνεσώσατο αὐτὰ χρήμασί τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι μεγάλαις. Φουρνίου δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντος τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καίσαρ ἐξήπτετο τῆς οὐραγίας· ἐς δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φουρνίῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς ὁμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἔσπετο ὁ Καίσαρ ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύων, ἡμέρας δὲ τὴν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προύπεμψεν, αἱ νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἵππευσι καὶ μονομάχοις εἶπετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντος, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐς Καίσαρα ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἐκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατεῖαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

31. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἰπὼν, ἡδομένων ἀπάντων καὶ ἡγουμένων ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχώρει καὶ στρατὸν ἡθροίζεν ἄλλον

. THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

IV

30. THE following were the principal events of the war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and began to revolt. Both Octavian and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reinforcement to Lucius, Octavian fell upon his rearguard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavian did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavian. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavian and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers.

CHAP.
IV
War begun

Lucius
declares his
intention to
restore the
republic

31. All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavian, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized

CAP. IV. ἐκ τῶν ἀποικίδων Ἀντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκρατύνατο. αἱ δὲ δι' εὐνοίας μὲν ἦσαν Ἀντωνίῳ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίου ταμίας, Ἀντωνίῳ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπανιών, ἔλεγε πυνθανομένοις τὸν Ἀντώνιον χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἐξαπάτης ἤσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου μετετίθεντο· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὑπήντα Σαλουιδιηνῷ μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἐκ Κελτῶν ἐπανιόντι. καὶ εἶποντο τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ Ἀσίνιός τε καὶ Οὐεντίδιος, Ἀντωνίου στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἶδε, κωλύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἵεναι. Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλτατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ μὴ κυκλωθείη, Σούτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ Λευκίῳ, νομίσας τὸν Λεύκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ περισπάσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἱ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν βοηθήσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Λευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τάδε μὲν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίγνετο ἅπαντα· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ Οὐεντίδιον ἦει, ἐνοχλούντων αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν Σαλουιδιηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

32. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Λεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἐκατέρωθεν οὖσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἵεναι ἐς Περυσίαν παρῆλθεν, ἐχυρὰν πόλιν, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον περιμένων. ὁμοῦ δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν Περυσίαν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐκυκλώ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

by Antony's soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward Antony. Barbatius, Antony's quaestor, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavian to the prejudice of their common sway: whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavian. Lucius put himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavian with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, also Antony's generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavian, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that he would turn Lucius from Salvidienus and draw him upon himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles.

CHAP.
IV

He
seeks to
intercept
Salvidienus

Agrippa
prevents
him

32. When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him; so he turned aside to Perusia, a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavian advanced against him and against Perusia and enclosed them with three armies

CAP. IV. σαντο· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκάλει πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ Λεύκιον εἶχε περιειλημμένον. πρὸνπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους, ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπιούσιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὥκνουν ἐπείγεσθαι, τὸν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ παριέντες ἀλλήλοις κατ' ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος οὐτ' ἐς μάχην ἦει τοῖς περικαθημένοις, ἀμείνοσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὔσι καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχων τὸ πλεόν, οὔτε ἐς ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐνοχλησόντων αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τοσῶνδε. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἔπεμπε, ἐπείγειν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιηνὸν μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων, λεηλατεῖν τὰ Καίσαρος, ἵνα ἀνασταίῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ὡς ἐν ὀχυρᾷ πόλει χειμάσων, εἰ δέοι, μέχρι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.

33. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περυσίαν ἀπετείχιζε χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξ σταδίους περιῶν διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶδες καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν μὴ ἐσφέροίτο. ἀντεπονεῖτό γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος, ἐτέροις ὁμοίοις χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πύξαν ὀχυρούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτήιον καὶ Καληνὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἠπείγε βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἔπεμπε ἀγεῖν Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ῥώμην

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

and Octavian summoned reinforcements in haste from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they altogether disapproved of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, since so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the aid of the besieged Lucius, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perusia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive.

33. Octavian, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of palisade and ditch around Perusia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, that nothing might be introduced into the place. Lucius on his part built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reinforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavian's legions, which

CHAP.
IV

Lucius
besieged in
Perusia

CAP. IV. ὁδεῦον διέφθειρεν· Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντιδίου σὺν μὲν ὄκνῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὁμως καὶ διὰ Μάνιον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον ἰόντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ, φυλακὴν τῆς Περυσίας καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ οὔτε πῶ συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις οὔτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, ὁ δ' ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέλθοιεν, ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ἐπανῆλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεσταύρου καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὥς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφοτέρω εἶναι, τό τε περιτείχισμα ὕψου καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλίνους δι' ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν ἴστη χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· καὶ ἐπάλλξεις τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα διμέτωπος, ἔς τε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ εἴ τις ἐξώθεν ἐπίοι. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαῖς καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντισταὶ μὲν ἀμεινόνων ὄντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων· καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον συμπλεκόμενοι.

34. Ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἤπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἤκμαζεν ἀγρίως ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προ-
 παρεσκευασμένης. ὣν ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰσθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐποίει. ἰουμηνίας δὲ ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν οὔσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λεύκιος τὴν ἑορτὴν ὥς ἀμελείας τοῖς πολεμίοις

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's intention), in order to raise the blockade, Octavian and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perusia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated—Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spoletium. Octavian stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perusia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front, to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavian had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters.

34. When the work of Octavian was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations beforehand. Knowing this fact Octavian kept the most vigilant watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under

CHAP.
IV

He there
awaits
reinforce-
ments

CAP. IV. αἰτίαν ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὡς διεκπαίσιον αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμενος ἑτέραν· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχού. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι σπείραις ἐπιδραμόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος μάλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀνεώσθη. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρατευομένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ φανερώς ἐπηρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέχοντες ἐπὶ ἐρεύνη σίτου, ὅσα εὖροιεν, ἥρπαζον.

35. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἐχώρουν ἐς αὐτὸν ἅπαντες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαντώντων δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι πλείονος, ἔδεισαν, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιον τι χωρίον ἐξέκλιναν, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους τῆς Περυσίας διεστηκός· ἐνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμβολα τῷ Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεντίδιος μὲν καὶ Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὡς μαχούμενοι, Πλάγκος δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου, χρῆναι δ' ἔτι караδοκεῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα· καὶ ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ ἰδόντες ἤδοντο, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν βραδυνόντων εἵκασαν καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρθαι. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐνυκτομάχησεν αὐθις ἐκ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the belief that the enemy would be off their guard, to make a sally by night against their gates, hoping to break through them and bring in his other forces, of which he had abundance in many places. But the legion that was lying in wait near by, and Octavian himself with some praetorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius, although he fought valiantly, was driven back. About the same time the mass of the people in Rome openly denounced the war and the victory, because the grain was kept under guard for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search of food, and carried off whatever they could find.

CHAP.
IV

35. Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on while Lucius was perishing of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower Caesar's forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with still larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium, distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa besieged them, and they lighted many fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the opinion that they should still go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavian and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed. Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night battle, extending from the first watch till daylight,

B.C. 40
His
lieutenants
fail to
assist him

CAP.
IV. πρώτης φυλακῆς ἐς ἕω περὶ ἅπαν τὸ περιτεί-
χισμα· καὶ οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀνέθορεν αὐθις ἐς τὴν
Περυσίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος
τροφὰς ἀπέειπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ἐφύ-
λασσειν αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώ-
τερον γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἡλῶντο
οὖν οἱ θεράποντες κατὰ πλήθος καὶ κατέπιπτον
ἐν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου
διατειχίσματος, πόαν εἶ τινα εὖροιεν ἢ φυλλάδα
χλωράν, νεμόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀποψύχοντας ὁ
Λεύκιος ἐς τάφρους ἐπιμήκεις κατῶρυσσεν, ἵνα
μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο,
μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμὸς καὶ νόσος.

36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ λιμοῦ τι τέλος ἦν οὔτε
τῶν θανάτων, ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις οἱ
ὀπλῖται παρεκάλουν τὸν Λεύκιον αὐθις ἀποπει-
ρᾶσαι τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς διακόψοντες αὐτὰ πάντως.
ὁ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀποδεξάμενος, “οὐκ ἀξίως,” ἔφη,
“πρῶην τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἡγωνισάμεθα,”
καὶ νῦν ἢ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς ἢ τοῦτο χεῖρον ἡγου-
μένους θανάτου μάχεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου. δεξα-
μένων δὲ προθύμως ἀπάντων καί, ἵνα μὴ τις ὥς
ἐν νυκτὶ πρόφασις γένοιτο, κατὰ φῶς ἄγειν σφᾶς
κελευόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος ἦγε πρὸ ἡμέρας. σίδηρόν
τε τειχομάχον εἶχον πολλὸν καὶ κλίμακας ἐς εἶδη
πάντα διεσκευασμένας. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ τάφρων
ἐγχωστήρια ὄργανα καὶ πύργοι πτυκτοί, σαΐδας
ἐς τὰ τεῖχη μεθιέντες, καὶ βέλη παντοῖα καὶ
λίθοι, καὶ γέρρα τοῖς σκόλοψιν ἐπιρριπτεῖσθαι.
προσπεσόντες δὲ μεθ' ὁρμῆς βιαίου τὴν τάφρον
ἐνέχωσαν καὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

around the whole circumvallation; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

CHAP.
IV
Famine in
Perusia

36. As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardour, saying, "In our recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death." All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be let down to the walls; also all kinds of missiles and stones, and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, scaled the

Lucius
attempts to
break out

CAP.
IV τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες οἱ μὲν ὑπώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπήγουν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πύργους· ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡμύνοντο λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μολυβδαίναις σὺν πολλῇ θανάτου καταφρονήσει. καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο κατὰ μέρη πολλά· ἐπειδὴ δέ τινας . . . ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.

37. Ἐκταθεισῶν δέ που τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, βία τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνος ἦν τῶν Λευκιανῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς σανίσι μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη πλάγια πάντοθεν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια. ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλαντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἶποντο ἑτέροι· καὶ τάχα ἂν τι ἐξείργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονοίας, εἰ μὴ, γνωσθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρεῖων ἀκμῆτες ἐπήγουντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς κατήρειψαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συνέτριψαν καὶ ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἤδη σὺν καταφρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοή σφᾶς ἐπελελοίπει, παρέμενον δ' ὅμως τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους ἀνηρῆμένων ἐσκυλευμένα κάτω διερριπτεῖτο, τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως, καὶ μικρὸν ἔστησαν ἀποροῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ διαναπανόμενοι. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐλεῶν ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀναχωρεῖν. ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἶον ἐπὶ νίκη,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some of them undermined, while others applied the ladders, and others simultaneously moved up the towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows, and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death. This was done at many different places, and the enemy being drawn in many different directions made a more feeble resistance.¹

CHAP.
IV

37. The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on the bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something in their desperation, had not the fact become known to Octavian that they had not many such machines, so that the best of his reserves were brought fresh to the assistance of the tired men. These troops now flung the assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contemptuously (fearing them no longer) from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their cries had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them, they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavian joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon

He is
defeated
after
desperate
fighting

¹ The text here is incomplete.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{IV} ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμακας αὖθις ἀρπάσαντες (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἶχον) ἔφερον ἐς τὰ τείχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο. περιθέων δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκιος ἐδεῖτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἔτι καὶ οἰμώζοντας ἀπήγεν ἄκοντας.

38. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆσδε τῆς τειχομαχίας, ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελευτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις ἐπιτολμήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἵδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους ἁλλαχοῦ κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχὴ τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀθυμία δὲ ἐπεῖχε τοὺς τοῦ Λευκίου, καί, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἡμέλουν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίαι πολλῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀφανέστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τινες ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδου τε ὁ Λεύκιος ἤδη πρὸς διαλύσεις ἐλέω τοσοῦδε πλήθους ἀπολλυμένου, ἐχθρῶν δέ τινων Καῖσαρος περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων ἔτι ἐπεῖχεν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤφθη τοὺς αὐτομόλους φιλανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος καὶ πλείων ὁρμὴ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγίγνετο, δέος ἤπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγων ἐκδοθεῖν.

V

CAP. ^V 39. Γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀηδοῦς, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized their ladders (although they had no more towers), and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they had not the strength. Lucius ran among them and besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and led them back groaning and reluctant.

CHAP.
IV

38. This was the end of this hotly contested siege. In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavian stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and thus desertion became more frequent, not only of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the higher officers also. And now Lucius inclined toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude, but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavian for their own safety still restrained him. But as Octavian was observed to treat the deserters kindly, and the desire for peace increased among all, Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should be delivered up.

He begins
to entertain
thoughts of
surrender

V

39. ACCORDINGLY, having made a sort of test which gave him satisfactory encouragement, Lucius called

CHAP.
V

CAP.
V. ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πάτριον ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ᾧ συστρατιῶται, τυρραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδ’, ἐφ’ ἣ συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθνεώτων διαλυθεῖσαν. Λεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτω χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἰς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διώκει, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥωμαίοις πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλως. ἅπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐς τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ἡξίουν τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγκάσαι. ὁ δέ με τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν τὰς κληρουχίας ἐλέω τῶν γεωργῶν· καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε ἡγνόησα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπίστευσά τινα πιστεύσειν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ δεδομένους, οἱ μεριεῖν ἔμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρουχίας. ἀλλὰ ἐδημαγώγησε γάρ τινας ἢ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ὄχοντο πολεμήσοντες ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζουσι, σὺν χρόνῳ δ’ εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ’ αὐτῶν. ὑμῖν δ’ ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἐλομένοις τὰ ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν, ἡττήμεθα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐγκαταλελείμμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου δαίμονος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· καλὸν γάρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

his army together and spoke as follows: "It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antony was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office. Octavian falsely accused me, before the army, of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of this slander for a long time, and even when I learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could believe it, when one saw that the colony officers were men assigned by my very self to divide the lands among you. But the calumny misled some people, who joined Octavian in order to make war against you, as they think. But eventually they will find that they have been warring against their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen the better cause, and that you have suffered for it beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have been left a prey by our own generals. It would be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity for my country. Such an end would set a halo of

CHAP.
V
He
addresses
his soldiers
on the
subject

CAP. V. τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει· οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς, οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημι εὐκλείας. πέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ὃ θέλει καταχρήσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὖσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲ πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ ἡσσημένοις πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λιμῷ.”

40. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε τρεῖς ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἡ δὲ πληθὺς ἀνῶμωζον, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, γνώμῃ μὲν ὁμοῦ σφισιν ἀρίστου καὶ δημοκρατικοῦ φανέντος, ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἡττημένου. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυχόντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀνεμίμνησκον τοῦ γένους τῶν στρατῶν ἐνὸς ἑκατέροις ὄντος καὶ στρατειῶν ὁμοῦ γενομένων καὶ φιλίας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προγόνων οὐκ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόντων· ὅσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἐπαγωγὰ, τούτοις ὅμοια, ἔλεγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους γεγυμνασμένους ἔφη τεχνάζων τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευσαμένοις διδόναι τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, ὥς χάριν ἐκείνῳ φέρων, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς ἑαυτῷ προσέτασεν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ἅπασιν ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἓνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπολαβόν, Φούρνιον, ἐς μείζονα φιланθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρὶς τῶν ἰδίων ἐχθρῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

fame upon my high purposes. To that destiny CHAP
I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer V
to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror
and beg that he will inflict such punishment as
he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you;
that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you,
his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who
are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting
without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war,
but by hunger."

40. After speaking thus he at once selected three He sends
men from the optimates for this mission. The envoys to
multitude wept, some on their own account, some Octavian
on account of their general, who appeared to them
to have been actuated by the most excellent and
democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme
necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to
the presence of Octavian, reminded him that the
soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and
that they had made campaigns together. They
called to mind the friendship of the nobility on
either side and also the virtue of their ancestors,
who did not allow their differences to become
irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments
which were calculated to prevail with him. Octa-
vian, knowing that some of the enemy were still
raw recruits, while others were veteran colonists,
replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to
Antony's soldiers out of regard for him, but that
the others must surrender at discretion. This he
said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius,
one of the three, he led him to expect mild treat-
ment. for Lucius and the rest, except his own
personal enemies.

CAP.
V 41. Οἶδε οὖν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, τὴν ἰδίᾳ γενομένην ἔντευξιν τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπονοοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσι γενέσθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν Φούρνιον ἐλοιδόρουν ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Λεύκιον ἡξίουں ἢ σπονδὰς αὐθις αἰτεῖν ὁμοίας ἅπασιν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ γὰρ ἰδίον τινι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπήγει μὲν ἐλεῶν ἄνδρας ὁμοτίμους καὶ πέμψειν ἔλεγεν ἑτέρους, οὐδένα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀμείνονα ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἄνευ κήρυκος ἦει, προθεόντων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελούντων Καίσαρι κατιέναι Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπήντα. ἐωρῶντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἤδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφανεῖς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὔσης ἑκατέρῳ στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἀποθέμενος τοὺς φίλους ἦει σὺν δύο ῥαβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνὺς ἅμα τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ συνεῖς ἀντεμιμεῖτο ἐς δεῖγμα καὶ ὅδε τῆς εἰς τὸν Λεύκιον εὐνοίας ἐσομένης· ὥς δὲ καὶ σπεύδοντα εἶδε τὸν Λεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τῷδε· φαίνοιτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπων ἤδη, προλαβὼν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χαρακώματος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Λευκίῳ βουλευέσθαι τε καὶ κρίνειν ἔτι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τοιάδε ἀλλήλοις προσιόντες ἀπὸ τε τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων προαπεδείκνυντο.

42. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἀφίκοντο, προσηγόρευσάν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη· “εἰ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

41. These personal enemies of Octavian, having learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting that it related to themselves, reproached him when he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that he should ask a new treaty, which should include all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this had not been a private war for any individual, but a public one in behalf of their country. Lucius approved, pitying them as men of the same rank as himself, and said that he would send another embassy. Then he added that no one was better fitted for this task than himself, and went immediately without a herald, merely preceded by some persons who went in advance to announce to Octavian his coming. The latter at once advanced to meet him. There they saw each other surrounded by their friends and conspicuous by the standards and military equipment of generals on either side. Then Lucius, dismissing¹ his friends, went forward with two lictors only, showing his state of mind by his outward appearance. Octavian understood and imitated his example, showing his intended good-will toward Lucius. When he saw the latter hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavian anticipated him and went outside the fortification in order that Lucius might still be free to consult and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as they moved forward they foreshadowed their intentions to each other in advance, by their retinue and their outward appearance.

42. When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I had been a

CHAP.

V

He makes
a personal
visit to
Octavian

Lucius
speech

¹ Perhaps: "putting off his uniform and dismissing . . ."

CAP.
V. μὲν ξένος ὢν ἐπολέμησα, ὦ Καῖσαρ, αἰσχροὺς ἂν
τὴν τοιαύτην ἦσαν ἡγούμενους καὶ αἰσχύονα ἔτι
τὴν παράδοσιν· καὶ τῆσδε τῆς αἰσχύνης εἶχον
ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐκόλῳ παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πολίτῃ διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος, οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ἡγούμενους μετὰ τοιαύσδε
προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιοῦδε ἡσσήσθαι. καὶ τὰδε
λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, ὅ τι θέλοις (διὰ
γάρ σοι τοῦτο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἄνευ
σπονδῶν ἰέμεν), ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτήσω
συγγνώμην δικαίαν τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι
συμφέρουσαν. δεῖ δέ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα
διελεῖν τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἑμαυτοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἐμὲ τῶν γεγονότων αἴτιον
ἐπιγνοῦς εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὀργὴν συναγάγῃς. μὴ
νομίσῃς δὲ ἐλεγχθῆσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας
(ἄκαιρον γάρ), ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἥς οὐκ ἔνι
μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.

43. “Ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα
σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα
τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυ-
μένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς
αἰτεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολο-
γοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ
πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου
περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ δυναμένους
συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἱ τὸ
τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων
εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολε-
μούντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

foreigner waging war against you, Octavian, I should consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should have for myself an easy means of deliverance from such humiliation. But since I have been contending with a countryman, my equal in rank, on behalf of our country, I do not consider it disgraceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that I have come to your camp without any guarantee), but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and conducive to your own interests. That I may make this clear to you it is necessary to separate their cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath upon me, and not think that I have come here to bandy words (for that would be inopportune), but to tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak otherwise.

43. "I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I

CHAP.
V

CAP.
V τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦψαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἡξίου, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελθόντα πείσειν ἐκόντα, ἐπειγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατῆρξας σύ, μόνος ἂν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶχες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ σε οὐκ ἔπειθον, ὥμην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, πολίτης τε ὢν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὕπατος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δι' ἧς ἐπολέμησα, αὗται μόναι, καὶ οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φουλβία, οὔτε ἡ κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε ἔλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστὰς ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διένεμον. ἀλλὰ με σὺ τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐλὼν ἐμοῦ κεκράτηκας· ἀνεπείσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαί τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαί με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν μὲν δὴ σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα· νικήσαντα δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐχθρὸς εἴ τῆς πατρίδος, καμὲ ἡγείσθαι πολέμιον, ἃ ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουλευθέντα μὲν, οὐ δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

44. “Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἐμαυτόν σοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς ὃ τι θέλεις, ὑποδεικνὺς δέ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ καὶ φρονῶν ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμεν. καὶ περὶ μὲν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

demanding that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the custom of our fathers, not even preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the city and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone: not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother's legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice while you were waging war. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it.

44. "While I say these things I surrender myself to you, as I have already declared, to do with me whatever you wish. I came here alone merely to show what I have thought of you before the war, during the war, and at this moment. So much for

Lucius
surrenders
uncon-
ditionally

CAP.
V. ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα· περὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντός, εἰ μὲν οὐχ ὑποπτεύσεις με λέγοντα, συμβουλεύσω τὰ σοὶ μάλιστα ὠφελιμώτατα, μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ τύχῃ χρώμενον, οὐ βεβαίῳ πράγματι, κωλύσαι τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχαις ἢ χρεΐαις ἐθελήσουντάς ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθόντας ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σοῦ νόμου δυσέλπιστον σῶζεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὑποπτος ἢ ἄπιστος ἐχθροῦ πᾶσα συμβουλή, οὐκ ὀκνῶ καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φίλους τίνυσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συναγαγεῖν πάντα, τὸν πάντων αἴτιον. ἀφ' ἧς δὴ γνώμης αὐτοὺς ὑπελιπόμην, ἵνα μὴ δόξαιμι, σοὶ τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκουόντων, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τεχνάζων εἰπεῖν.”

45. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ σιωπήσαντος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν· “ἄσπονδον μὲν σε κατιόντα πρὸς ἐμὲ ὀρών, ὦ Λεύκιε, ὑπήντησα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔτι ἐκτὸς ὄντι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἵνα ἔτι κύριος ὢν σεαυτοῦ βουλευόιο καὶ λέγοις καὶ πράττοις, ἃ νομίζεις σοι συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογούντων, σαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν τέχνῃ μου κατεψεύσω. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέ με βλάβειν ἐλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἔβλαψας. σπονδὰς γάρ μοι τιθέμενος ἔτυχες ἂν ἡδικημένου καὶ νενικηκότος·

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army CHAP.
V if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is, that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rule there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I do not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be securing favour for myself in an underhand way."

45. After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavian said: "When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my entrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you

CAP. ^V ἄσπονδον δὲ σαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρεπων ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαιρῇ μὲν πᾶσαν ὀργήν, ἀφαιρῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν σπενδόμενος ἂν ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. συμπέπλεκται γὰρ οἷς ἄξιον ὑμᾶς παθεῖν, τὸ προσήκον ὧν ἐμὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖν· ὃ δὲ προτιμήσω διὰ τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἐμαυτόν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Λεύκιε, καὶ οὐ ψεύσω σε τῆς προσδοκίας, ἣν ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κατελήλυθας."

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ἀλλήλοις, ὥκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων. καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ θαύματι τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχων, οὐδὲν ὥς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἀγεννὲς οὐδ' ἀσύνητον εἰπόντα, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τὸν Καίσαρα τοῦ τε ἡθους καὶ βραχυλογίας. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῆς ὁψεως ἐκατέρων.

46. Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληψομένους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλάρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιβλίον ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος. οἱ μὲν δὲ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς φυλακὰς ἔτι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, νυκτοφυλακεῖν ἐκατέρους τὰ ἴδια· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself ^{CHAP.} and your friends and your army without conditions, ^V you take away not only all resentment, but also the power which, under negotiations for a treaty, you would necessarily have given me. There is involved in this question not only what you and your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the latter my chief consideration on account of the gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius, and I shall not disappoint the expectation with which you came to me."

These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language.¹ They then separated, and Octavian praised and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavian for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gathered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the two parties.

46. Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavian, and they took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavian himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night, and the next morn-

¹ Probably the Memoirs here mentioned are those of Octavian himself, to which reference is made in *Illyr.* 14, and in *C. W.* iv. 110.

CAP. V. ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔθνευ, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα φέροντα, ἔσκενασμένον δ' ὡς ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ. οἱ δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα ἡσπάσαντο καὶ ἕστησαν ἐν μέρει κατὰ τέλος, οὗ προσέταξεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, οἳ τε κληροῦχοι καὶ οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κεχωρισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκτελεσθείσης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δάφνη, συμβόλῳ νίκης, προκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ προσέταξε μὲν ἅπασιν θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ἔνθα εἰστήκεσαν, θεμένων δὲ τοὺς κληροῦχους, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγυτέρῳ προσελθεῖν, διεγνώκως ἄρα ὀνειδίσαι τῆς ἀχαριστίας καὶ φοβῆσαι. προέγνωστο δὲ μέλλων ὧδε ποιήσειν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε ἐξεπίτηδες, οἷα προδιάσκονται πολλάκις, εἴτε ὑπὸ πάθους ὡς πρὸς οἰκείους ἄνδρας, ἀκρατεῖς τῆς δεδομένης σφίσι τάξεως γενόμενοι, προσιοῦσι τοῖς Λευκιανοῖς οἷα συνεστρατευμένοις ποτὲ περιχυθέντες ἡσπάζοντο καὶ συνέκλαιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν καὶ οὔτε βοῶντες ἔτι ἐπαύοντο οὔτε συμπλεκόμενοι, κοινωνούντων ἑκατέροις τοῦ πάθους ἤδη καὶ τῶν νεοστρατεῦτων· οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκριμένον ἔτι οὐδ' εὐκριτον.

47. "Οθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι τῆς γνώμης ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ μόλις τὴν βοήν καταπαύσας εἶπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. "ὕμεῖς μὲν, ὦ σύστρατιῶται, οὕτως αἰέ μοι προσενήνεχθε ὡς μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν νεοστρατεύτους ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεῦσθαι Λευκίῳ νομίζω, τούτων δὲ τῶν συνεστρατευμένων τε πολλάκις ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν σφζομένων ἐπενόουν πυθῆσθαι,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

ing Octavian offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared for marching. They saluted Octavian as imperator while still at some distance, and each legion took its separate position as Octavian had directed, the colonized veterans being apart from the new levies. When Octavian had finished the sacrifice he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood. When they had done so he ordered the veterans to draw nearer, intending, it seems, to reproach them for their ingratitude and to strike terror into them.

It was known beforehand what he was about to do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy as for their own relatives, broke from the formation in which they had been placed, crowded around Lucius' men as they approached their former fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them, and implored Octavian in their behalf, and ceased not crying out and embracing them, the new levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between them.

CHAP.
V

The soldiers
of the two
armies
embrace
one another

47. For this reason Octavian did not persist in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows: "You have always behaved in such a way to me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from me in vain. I think that the new levies served Lucius under compulsion, but I intended to ask these old soldiers, who have often served with us and who are now saved from punishment by you,

CAP.
V. τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος χάριτος οὐκ ἀξιο-
θέντες ἢ τί μείζον παρ' ἐτέρου προσδοκῶντες
ἐναντία ὄπλα ἤραντο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ
ἐαυτοῖς; ἃ γὰρ ἔκαμνον ἐγώ, πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ
τῆς κληρουχίας, ἥς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετῆν.
καὶ εἰ συγχωρεῖτέ μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι." οὐκ
ἐπιτρεπόντων δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακα-
λούντων, "συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν, ὅσα βούλεσθε," ἔφη,
"καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθείς τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ἃν
ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὅμοια φρονῶσιν." ὑπισχνου-
μένων δ' ἐκατέρων βοαί τε καὶ χάριτες ἦσαν ἐς
τὸν Καίσαρα· καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψέ τινας
καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοῦν,
ἐνθα περ εἰστήκεσαν, ἄπωθεν, ἕως ὃ Καῖσαρ
αὐτοῖς πόλεις τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας
ἐς τὰς πόλεις δόλη.

48. Καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκάλει τὸν
Λεύκιον ἐκ τῆς Περυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥω-
μαίων. καὶ κατήεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς,
πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, ἐν ὧφει
πάντες οἰκτρᾶ καὶ ὀξείᾳ μεταβολῇ. ἅμα δὲ
ἐξήεσαν οὗτοι τῆς Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρὰ τὴν
πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, Λεύκιον μὲν
ὃ Καῖσαρ ἐαυτῷ παρεστήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ
διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς τιμὴν ἀπά-
γειν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν ἄσημον. τοὺς δὲ Περυ-
σίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

what they have suffered at our hands, or what CHAP.
favour they have asked in vain, or what greater V
favours they expected from anybody else that they
have taken up arms against me, against you, against
themselves. For all the trouble I have met with has
grown out of the division of the lands, in which
they had their share. And now if you will permit
me I will yet ask them these questions." They
would not allow him to do so, but continued their
beseeching. "I grant what you wish," he said.
"Let them be dismissed without punishment for their
wrong-doing, provided they will hereafter be like-
minded with you." They promised on both sides
with acclamations and thanks to Octavian, who
allowed some of his own men to entertain some
of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder
to pitch their tents where they had been stationed,
at a certain distance from the others, until he
should assign them towns for winter quarters and
appoint persons to lead them thither.

48. Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavian Octavian
summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of pardons
responsibility who were with him. Many of the Lucius
senators and knights came down, all presenting a and all but
pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change a few
of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia leaders
a guard was stationed around it. When they
reached the tribunal Octavian placed Lucius by his
own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge
by the friends of Octavian, others by centurions, all
of whom had been instructed beforehand to show
them honour and to keep watch upon them unob-
served. He commanded the Perusians who stretched
out their hands to him from the walls, to come

CAP.
V ἤκειν, ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς μόνης· καὶ ἐλθοῦσι συνέγνω. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τότε μὲν φύλαξι παρεδόθησαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀνῆρέθησαν, χωρὶς Αἰμιλίου Λευκίου, ὃς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαῖου Καίσαρος τὴν καταδικάζουσιν ἤνεγκε φανερώς καὶ πάντα φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ὥς ἐκλυομένους μύσος.

49. Τὴν δὲ Περυσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ στρατῷ, Κέστιος δέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐνέπρησε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἄνεμοι τὴν φλόγα ὑπολαβόντες περιήνεγκαν ἐκ ὅλην Περυσίαν, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου μόνου. τότε μὲν δὴ τῇ Περυσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἀξιώσεως· ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν πάλαι φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις δώδεκα πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἡραν ἔσεβον, οἷα Τυρρηνοί· τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν Ἡφαιστον σφίσιν ἔθεντο θεὸν εἶναι πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς Ἡρας. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἅπασιν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπὶ τισι θορυβῶν, ἕως ἀνῆρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μάλιστα Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, Καννούτιός τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάνιος καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ Βιθυνικὸς καὶ ἕτεροι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ Λευκίου πολιορκίας, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὧδε ἐξελέλυτο, χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ χρόνιος ἐλπισθεὶς ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

forward, all except their town council, and as they presented themselves he pardoned them; but the councillors were thrown into prison and soon afterward put to death, except Lucius Aemilius, who had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the murderers of Caesar, who had voted openly for condemnation, and had advised all the others to do the same in order to expiate the guilt.

49. Octavian intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames, and a strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavian made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were the chief personal enemies of Octavian, namely, Cannutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the siege of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy.

CHAP.
V
Perusia
destroyed
by fire

VI

CAP.
VI

50. Καὶ γὰρ Ἀσίτιος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ Οὐεντίδιος καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀτήιος καὶ ὅσοι τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ὄντες ἕτεροι στρατὸν εἶχον οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ' εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυμνασμένα καὶ ἰππέας ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις, ἡγούμενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου Δεύκιον γενονέναι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤεσαν, ἕτερος ἐτέρας ὁδοὺς, οἱ μὲν εἰς Βρεντέσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, οἱ δ' εἰς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς Μοῦρκον ἢ Ἀηνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀντώνιον, διωκόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων καὶ σπονδὰς προτεινόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνοχλούντων τὰ περὶ μάλιστα· ὧν δὴ καὶ μόνων Ἀγρίππας ἔπεισε μεταθέσθαι δύο τέλη Πλάγκου, ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερία. ἔφευγε δὲ καὶ Φουλβία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας εἰς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἰππέων οἱ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπεστάλησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ νεῶν πέντε μακρῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπιβᾶσα ἀνήγετο· καὶ αὐτῇ Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ δὲ Οὐεντίδιον σφῶν εἶλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίτιος δὲ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ συνετίθετο φιλίαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον· καὶ ἐπέστελλον ἄμφω τάδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ὥς αὐτίκα ἤξοντι εὐτρέπιζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

51. Ἄλλῳ δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

VI

50. FOR Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius to have been the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundisium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavian followed them, offering terms of peace, and, when they refused, harassing especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desert to him. Fulvia also fled with her children to Dicaearchia,¹ and thence to Brundisium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundisium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy.

51. Octavian was planning to get possession of

¹ The Greek name of the modern Pozzuoli.

CHAP.
VI
The armies
of Asinius,
Plancus,
and
Ventidius

CAP. VI. Ἄλπεις, οὗ Φούφιος Καληνὸς ἡγείτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν, ἥδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἢ φίλῳ ἔτι ὄντι φυλάξειν ἢ πολεμοῦντος μεγάλην ἰσχὺν προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλλοντος δὲ ὅμως ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιορωμένου, ὁ Καληνὸς ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥς ἐς ἀμφοτέρωθεν πρόφασιν εὐρών, ἦει καὶ παρελάμβανε τὸν τε στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὔσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ, Φουφίου τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τε αὐτὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἅπαντα ἀμαχείϊ.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ ἔνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας τοσάσδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν παρέλκε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἰδίους ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν· 52. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος χειμῶνος μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας, ἔτι ἐπικρύπτων, ἃ ἐφρόνει, ἥρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὤδευεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀσίας ἦσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐμέμφετο καὶ Φουλβίαν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Μάνιον. Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὗρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ Βρεντεσίου φυγοῦσαν· Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήιος, ἐς αὐτὸν διαφυγοῦσαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ παρέπεμπον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄριστοι, Λεύκιός τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ Σατουρνίνος καὶ ἕτεροι, ὅσοι χρῆζοντες τῆς Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἡξίουσαν αὐτὸν συναλλαγέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καίσαρι λαβεῖν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

another considerable army belonging to Antony, that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony, and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to preserve these forces for him, or, if war should break out, to add this large force to his own strength. While he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-seeming occasion, Calenus died; and Octavian, believing that he had found a good excuse for both transactions, went and took possession of the army and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were also Antony's provinces. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrified, and delivered everything over to him without a fight.

Octavian, having acquired eleven legions of soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dismissed the chief officers from their commands, substituted his own, and returned to Rome. 52. As it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him, and still concealed his intentions. In the spring he set out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre, and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes, to the province of Asia. There he learned of the doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundisium. His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships, and escorted by some of the optimates of his party, by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and others, who, being attracted by Antony's capacity for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance

CHAP.
VI
Octavian
gains
possession
of the army
of Calenus

Antony's
wife and
mother
join him
at Athens

CAP. VI. Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο χάριν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ γιννώσκειν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀποτίσειν ἐν χρόνῳ, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν πολεμοίῃ Καίσαρι, χρήσεσθαι Πομπηίῳ συμμαχῶ, εἰ δ' ἐμμένει τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμολογημένοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, πειράσεσθαι καὶ Πομπήιον Καίσαρι συναλλάξαι.

53. Ὁ μὲν ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανιὼν ἦσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας διαπεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβὲς ἄρα οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐξώτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς κατάγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπήιον, ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰ χωρία ἔχουσιν· ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπήιον οἱ πλείονες τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπεφύγεσαν. καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσματος ὄντος, οὐδ' ὡς οἱ κληροῦχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐστράτευον· οὕτως ἢ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγώγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀντωνίου μὲν καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Αἰννοβάρβου κατὰ πλῆθος ὀπλιτῶν ὑπεροίσειν ἐνόμιζεν (ἦρχε γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων), ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχων οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαν ὠρρώδει, ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐχόντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπλέοντες ἐς λιμὸν περιενέγκαιεν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἐλέλεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον) ἐπέστελλε Μαϊκίην συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνίᾳ, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

between them against Octavian. Antony replied CHAP. VI that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother and that he would requite him for the service in due time; that if there should be a war with Octavian he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if Octavian should adhere to their agreements he would endeavour to reconcile him with Pompeius.

53. Such was his answer, and when Octavian returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, so popular had he become by the reputation he had gained at Philippi. Octavian considered himself likely to be far superior to Antony, Pompeius, and Ahenobarbus in the number of troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had not one ship and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while proposals had been made to him about many girls in marriage, he wrote to Maecenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavian without hesitation.

Octavian begins to suspect Antony

CAP. VI. προθύμως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ στρατῶν ὅσους ὑπώπτενε, διέπεμπεν ἐπὶ προφάσεων ἄλλους ἄλλαχού καὶ Λέπιδον ἐς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἄγοντα τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἕξ.

54. Λεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπήνει μὲν ἐς φιλαδελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενηκῶς ἴδιον τὸ ἀμάρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὠνείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχαριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτου τυχὼν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν ὁμολογοίῃ περὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. “ἐγὼ δέ σοι πιστεύων,” ἔφη, “Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά τε ἔθνη τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μὴ ἄναρχος εἴη, διὰ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων διώκουν Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκεῖνά τε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιῶμαι καὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπιέναι θέλonti συγχωρῶ μετὰ ἀδείας.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, εἴτε πειρώμενος τοῦ Λευκίου, εἴτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐθέλων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ὁ δὲ οἶα καὶ πρότερον εἶπε· “Φουλβίας μὲν ἡσθόμην οὔσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ φανερώς καὶ λαθὼν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγνωιούμενος αὐθις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἤδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ’ ἐπιλέγοιτο κἀκεῖνος καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχήσοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σὲ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Then Octavian, on various pretexts, sent away to this place and that, such of Antony's friends and soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with him the six of Antony's legions who were most under suspicion.

CHAP.
VI

54. Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude, if, after meeting such a favour from himself, he should now refuse to make confession concerning Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony, so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will allow you to do so fearlessly." He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, "I knew that Fulvia was in favour of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I will go to join him, either openly or secretly, and will fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. But if he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you, too, are not trying to establish a monarchy. For I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family."

He
converses
on the
subject with
Lucius

CAP. VI. καὶ γένους.” ὧδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἄγων οὐκ ἔφη μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύσειν δὲ ὡς τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατηγούντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδουκαίου τε καὶ Λευκίου.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέπεμπε σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφύλασσε ἀφανῶς· 55. Αἰτώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυνῶνι νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ, ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀπαντᾶν αὐτῷ ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντά τισιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμφθείσαις σπονδαῖς εἶναι βέβαιον (ἦν γὰρ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμμένων ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι πεπολεμηκότων), ὅμως ἔπλει, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπιβὰς ταῖς ἀρίσταις, ἵνα φαίνοιτο πιστεύων, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας. καθορωμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου παντὶ τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ' ὀξείας εἰρεσίας προσπλέοντος, ἔδειξεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρεστῶς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸν ἡξίου τὸν πλοῦν καὶ προπέμψαι τινὰς ἐς πείραν ὥς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν αἰρεῖσθαι παρασπονδούμενος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σφάζεσθαι δειλὸς ὀφθείς,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

So spake Lucius. Octavian, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perugia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would entrust to Lucius, because he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, with Peducaeus and Lucius, who now commanded it, as his lieutenants.¹

CHAP.
VI

Thus Octavian dismissed Lucius with honour, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants. 55. Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyn, and set sail from Corecra into the Adriatic with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust even to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Caesar's murderers, and after the condemnation had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavian in the campaign of Philippi. Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and con-

Antony
sets sail
for Italy

Meets
Ahenobarbus
in the
Adriatic

¹ Perhaps Lucius Carinas.

CAP. VI. ἔπλει. πλησίον τε ἦσαν ἀλλήλων ἤδη, καὶ αἱ ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλαις προσέπλεον· καὶ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ὁ ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστῶς, εἶτ' ἐκλαθόμενος, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ στρατοῦ κακείνος ἡγούμενος ἰδίου προσπλέοι, εἶτε ἀπὸ εὐγενεστέρου φρονήματος, ὥς ὑπηκόοις ἢ ἐλάσσοσιν ἀνδράσιν ὑπαντῶσι, προσέταξε καθελεῖν τὸ σημεῖον. οἱ δὲ καθήρουν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεὼς περιέστρεφον. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἡσπάσαντο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόνα προσεῖπεν, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρει μόλις, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόεντα κατέπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξίστατο Ἀντωνίῳ.

56. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίῳ διέπλεον, φυλασσομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ Βρεντέσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, Ἀηνοβάρβῳ μὲν ὥς ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμίῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὥς πολέμιον ἐπάγοντι. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τάδε καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀποκλείεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γνώμῃ Καίσαρος, διετάφρενε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἀπετειχίζεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις χερρόνησος ἐν μνηοειδεῖ λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἐξ ἡπείρου προσελθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατετμημένῳ τε καὶ διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα μέγαν ὄντα φρουρίοις πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔς τε τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας περιέπεμπεν, οἷς εἶρητο τὰ εὐκαιρα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

tinued his course. Now they were drawing near, and the vessels which bore the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first lictor, who stood in the bows as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he too was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Paloeis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony.

56. From thence they sailed to Brundisium, which was garrisoned by five cohorts of Octavian's troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant, and considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavian's garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbour, and the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbour, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize

CHAP.
VI
Antony
arrives at
Brundu-
sium and
lays siege
to it

CAP. VI. καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὃ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρσι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδῶν Καίσαρος οὔσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσπασε τὴν συμφροσύνην Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέοντας. τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Σιποῦντα μὲν τῆς Αὔσουνίας οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατέλαβον, Θουρίους δὲ καὶ Κωνσεντίαν Πομπήιος ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν.

57. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὀξείας καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τὴν Αὔσουνίδα ἔπεμπεν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἤγεν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπομένους ὥς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμη τὰ γιγνόμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλανθάνοντες. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν Καῖσαρα. ὁδεύων δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς κληρούχοις αὐθις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνῳκισμένους ἤγεν, αἰδουμένους καὶ γνώμην ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιουμένους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καῖσαρα συναλλάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπειθῶν πολεμοίῃ, Καῖσαρι ἀμύνειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν μὲν Κανυσίῳ τινας ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο, παντὶ δὲ ὧν ἔτι κρείσσων Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, εὔρε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀποτετειχισμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ παρεστρατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ἐφίηδρευεν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius CHAP. VI also to move against Italy with his fleet and do whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity, despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which belonged to Octavian, and two legions in it, who were panic-stricken at this agreement between Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia. Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged their territory with his cavalry.

57. Octavian, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succour the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what was happening was at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavian was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundisium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavian into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavian. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundisium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it and await events.

Octavian
marches
thither

CAP.
VI

58. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὀχυρώ-
μασιν ὥς πολὺ μείονας ἔχων ἀσφαλῶς ἀπομάχε-
σθαι, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ
σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέχναζεν ἐσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι
ναῦς μακράς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἰδιωτικοῦ πλή-
θους, οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλοι μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλεον
ὥπλισμένοι καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπίοντες,
ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῦ Καίσαρος.
ἦδη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ
ἐπιχειρήσειν ἔμελλε τοῖς Βρεντεσίοις, ἀχθομένου
τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν. περὶ δὲ
ἐσπέραν ἐκατέροις ἀγγέλλεται Σιποῦντα μὲν
Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβών, Πομπήιος δὲ Θουρίων μὲν
ἀπεωσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος,
ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέραιεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ
Σερουίλιος ἀπηγγέλθη προσιὼν τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ
χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων, οὐ κατασχὼν
τῆς ὁρμῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου,
μεθ' ὧν εὔρεν ἐτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἱππέων τετρα-
κοσίων, μάλα θρασέως ἐπειχθεὶς ἐπέπεσε τοῖς
χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εὐναζομένοις ἔτι περὶ
πόλιν Ὑρίαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβέ τε
καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπανήγαγεν.
οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπ-
ποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.

59. Αἱ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆσδε
τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαζον τῷ χάρακι
τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευ-
μένους σφίσιν ὠνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσουντες ἤκοιεν
Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς περισώσαντι ἐν
Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντεπικαλούντων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
σφίσιν ἤκουσι πολεμήσουντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

58. Antony was enabled by means of his entrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers, and he summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, who returned, in batches, the next day, in sight of Octavian, fully armed, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundusians, to the great chagrin of Octavian, since he was not able to defend them. But toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of Octavian with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Hyria, threw them into a panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to Brundisium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as invincible still inspire terror.

59. Antony's praetorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavian in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves,

CHAP.
VI

Antony
sends to
Macedonia
to bring
his army

The soldiers
of the
two armies
fraternize

CAP. VI. ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλοις προῦφερουν, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτείχισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς Αὔσονίδος καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸ συνθέσθαι μὲν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ σφαγῇ Γαίου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῶ πολεμίῳ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀνεκάλυπτον, ὅτι Καίσαρι συνέλθοιεν οὐκ ἀμνημονοῦντες Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς ἐπινοοῦντες ἀμφοτέροις ἢ Ἀντώνιον ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμννούμενοι. καὶ τάδε καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπελάζοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου χαρακώμασι προύλεγον.

Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται Φουλβία τεθνεῶσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου μέμψεσιν ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ εἰς τὴν νόσον ἐμπεσεῖν, νομιζομένη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκοῦσα ἐπιτρίψαι διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου· νοσοῦσάν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπολείπων ἐωράκει. ἐδόκει δ' ἀμφοτέροις εἰς πολλὰ συνοίσειν ὁ θάνατος, γυναιίου φιλοπράγμονος ἀπηλλαγμένοις, ἢ διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας ζῆλον ἐξερρίπισε τοσόνδε πόλεμον. τό γε μὴν πάθος ἀσθενῶς ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἡγούμενός τι καὶ αἷτιος γεγονέναι.

VII

CAP. VII. 60. Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήμιος ἑκατέρῳ φίλος καὶ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰς Φοινίκην τοῦ προτέρου θέρους

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundisium had been closed against him and that Calenus' troops had been taken from him, the others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundisium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Caesar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavian's men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavian, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavian against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works.

CHAP.
VI

While these events were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick, and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it.

Death of
Fulvia

VII

60. THERE was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with

CHAP.
VII

CAP. VII. πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καικίνα, ἐπανιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καικίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κατέμενεν. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκκήσιος, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθείς, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρος ἀσπασόμενος αὐτόν. συγχωροῦντος δ' ἀπιέναι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πειρώμενος ἤρετο, εἴ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκομισμένος δι' αὐτοῦ Κοκκήσιου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος “νῦν μὲν,” ἔφη, “τί ἂν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν, ὄντες ἐχθροί, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους; ἀντέγραψα δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ Καικίνα· καὶ εἰ βούλει, λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεχλεύασεν, ὁ δὲ Κοκκήσιος οὐκ εἶα πω τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρόν, ἕς τε Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε γεγεννημένον. ὁ δὲ “ἐκ Βρεντεσίου με,” φησὶν, “ἀποκλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν Καληνοῦ στρατὸν ἀφαιρούμενος ἔτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐστὶν εὖνους μόνοις· οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐμοὶ περισφύζειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐχθροποιεῖν.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήσιος, ἃ μὲν ἐπεμέμφετο μαθὼν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔτι ὀξυτέραν φύσιν ἐπερεθίσας, ὥχετο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

61. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μὴ θάσσον ἔλθοι. “οὐ γάρ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀδελφόν, ἵν' ἐχθρὸς ᾗς μοι, περιέσωσα.” ὁ δὲ “πῶς,” ἔφη, “τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιῇ, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐχθροὺς ἀποκαλεῖς τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφαιρῇ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη;” καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ “οὐ γάρ,” ἔφη, “Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐχρήν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Caecina, by Octavian, the previous summer, to Antony in Phoenicia, and had remained with Antony after Caecina returned. This Cocceius, seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been sent for by Octavian for the purpose of a friendly greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked, by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony would like to write any letter to Octavian making use of himself as his messenger. Antony replied: "What can we write to each other, now that we are enemies, except mutual recrimination? I wrote letters in reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the hand of Caecina. Take copies of those if you like." This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not yet allow him to call Octavian an enemy after his generous behaviour towards Lucius and Antony's other friends. But Antony replied: "He has shut me out of Brundisium and taken my provinces and the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly, but to make them enemies to me by his benefactions." Cocceius, after hearing these complaints, did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to Octavian.

CHAP.
VII
Cocceius
attempts to
mediate

61. When Octavian saw him he expressed astonishment that he had not come sooner. "I did not save your brother," he exclaimed, "in order that you should be my enemy."¹ Cocceius replied, "How is it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call your friends enemies and take from them their armies and provinces?" "It was not fitting," replied Octavian, "that after the death of Calenus

He has an
interview
with
Octavian

¹ The brother was M. Cocceius Nerva, Antony's proquaestor.

CAP.
VII. ἐπὶ μεираκίῳ τῷ Καληνοῦ παιδὶ γενέσθαι τοσαύ-
 τας ἀφορμὰς, ἀπόντος ἔτι Ἀντωνίου· αἷς καὶ
 Λεύκιος ἐπαρθεὶς ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἀσίνιος καὶ Ἀηνό-
 βαρβος γειτονεύοντες ἐχρῶντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ
 καὶ τὰ Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον,
 ἵνα μὴ οἴχοιτο πρὸς Πομπήιον· οἱ γοῦν ἱππέες
 αὐτῶν διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήσιος
 “ἐτέρως,” ἔφη, “τάδε λογοποιούμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώ-
 νιος ἐπίστευεν, ἕως ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρεντε-
 σίου καθάπερ πολέμιος.” καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν
 μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ τοῦδε προστάξαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ
 προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ' ἀφικέσθαι μετὰ
 πολεμίων προσδοκῆσαι), Βρεντεσίους δὲ αὐτοὺς
 καὶ τὸν ὑπολελειμμένον αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς Ἀηνοβάρ-
 βου καταδρομὰς ταξίάρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀπο-
 κλείσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, συνθέμενον μὲν ἐχθρῷ
 κοινῷ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον
 φονέα τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ
 προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμένον καὶ πολιορκήσαντα μὲν
 τὸ Βρεντέσιον μετὰ Φιλίππους, πολιορκοῦντα
 δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ, ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς
 ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεηλατήσαντα.

62. Ὁ δὲ “σπένδεσθαι μὲν,” ἔφη, “συνεχωρή-
 σατε ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε· καὶ οὐδενὶ
 τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπείσατο, οὐδὲν
 ἔλασσον ἢ αὐτὸς σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν.
 Ἀηνόβαρβος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἡ δὲ
 ψήφος αὐτῷ κατ' ὀργὴν ἐπῆκται· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

such large resources should be left in the hands of such a stripling as Calenus' son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry has actually gone to Sicily." "These matters have been told differently," said Cocceius; "but even Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundisium as an enemy." "I gave no order on that subject," replied Octavian, "for I did not know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundisians themselves and the praefect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father's murderers, who had been condemned by vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundisium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy."

CHAP.
VII

62. "But it was agreed between you," said Cocceius, "that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honour than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers, but the vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those

He
argues for
Antony's
rectitude

CAP.
VII

βουλῆς πω τότε μετεῖχεν. εἰ δ' ὥς φίλῳ Βρούτου μὴ συγγνῶναι νομίζοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασι χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπηίῳ δὲ οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσειν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολεμούμενος δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ καὶ σοὶ συναλλάξειν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ' ἐκείνον εἰργασμένον. σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχεις· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐθάρρουν.” καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλῶν “τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν,” ἔφη, “κἀμὲ σὺν αὐτῇ, Μανιος καὶ Φουλβία καὶ Αεῦκιος ἐπολέμουν· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν ἐπιβέβηκε τῆς παραλίου.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήσιος “οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου πεμφθείς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμεῖται ναυτικῶ πολλῶ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς.” ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ (οὐ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἤκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος) ἐπισχὼν ὀλίγον εἶπεν “ἀλλ' οὐ χαιρήσει Πομπήσιος, κακὸς κακῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἐξελαθείς.” καὶ ὁ Κοκκήσιος τὰ ἀμφίλογα πάντα κατιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θάνατον καὶ τρόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου δυσχεράνασά τε νοσήσειε καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρίψειεν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἰδόντος αὐτὴν οὐδὲ νοσοῦσαν Ἀντωνίου, ὥς αἴτιον τῇ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενόμενον· ἐκποδὼν δὲ κακείνης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν ἐνδεῖν ἔτι ἔφη “πρὸς ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἀληθεύσαι, περὶ ὧν ὑπενοήσατε.”

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

days. If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius, not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since even he has done nothing which should make him irreconcilable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony." Octavian repeated his accusations, saying, "Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony." Cocceius replied, "Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you two agree to peace." Octavian, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, "But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves." Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her even when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife's death. "Now that she is dead," he continued, "it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are."

CHAP.
VII

CAP.
VII

63. Οὕτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Κοκκήιος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξενίζετο παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεῖτο ἐπιστεῖλαί τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, νεώτερον ὄντα πρεσβυτέρῳ. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἔτι οὐκ ἔφη γράφειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνον· μέμψεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγγενῆς οὔσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα ἐκ πάντων ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, φύγοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καθάπερ οὐ τευξομένη πάντων ὡς παρ' υἱοῦ. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέχναζε καὶ ἐπέστελλε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. ἐξιώντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Κοκκήϊῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἐξέφερον τοῦ στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰλλα καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδείῃ πολεμήσοντας οὐ συντιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήιον μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐξ ὧν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, Ἀηνόβαρβον δὲ ποι πέμπειν, ἕως αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοιντο. παρακαλούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τὸν Ἀντώνιον (γένει γὰρ ἦν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουλίων), ἡσχύνετο Ἀντώνιος, εἰ μὴ γενομένων τῶν συμβάσεων τὸν Πομπήιον αὐθις ἐς συμμαχίαν καλοίῃ. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἀπελπιζούσης αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Κοκκήϊου ἰσχυριζομένου τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπιζομένου τι πλεον εἶδέναι, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδίδου καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενος τῶν συγκειμένων, καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἔπεμπεν ἡγεῖσθαι Βιθυνίας.

64. Ὡν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανό-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

63. In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavian and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavian said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony's mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honour by Octavian, she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his device also for opening a correspondence by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until the treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian clan. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

64. When Octavian's soldiers learned these facts

CHAP.
VII
Octavian
writes to
Antony's
mother

CAP. VII. μενοι πρέσβεις εἶλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφο-
τέρους, οἳ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὥς
οὐ κρίναι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἡρημένοι,
σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ὥς
οἰκεῖον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα
καὶ Μαικήναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι
καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνηστίαν εἶναι τῶν
γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως
δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεώτος, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καί-
σαρος εἶχεν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐδικαίου οἱ διαλλακταὶ
τὴν Ὀκταουίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι.
καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ἀλ-
λήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίας
πρὸς ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἄπαιστοι δι' ὅλης
τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

65. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥω-
μαίων αὐθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἅπασαν,
ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυ-
ρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰονίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δο-
κοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ' ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἑω
πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἕως ἐπὶ
ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καί-
σαρα μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν,
καθὰ Καῖσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ
μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μή τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις
δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρα-
σπονδῆσεως. Ἀηνοβάρβῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα
συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν
δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως
ἴσον ἐκάτερον.

Αἶδε μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τελευταῖαι Καίσαρί τε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as a friend of both, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Maecenas from that of Octavian. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavian for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavian's sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavian embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

CHAP.
VII

Octavian
and Antony
reconciled

65. Now Octavian and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf. All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavian. Lepidus was to govern Africa, inasmuch as Octavian had given it to him. Octavian was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavian was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers.

They make
a fresh
partition of
the empire

These were the last conditions of peace between

CAP. VII. Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπεν, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος. ἀναστέλλειν Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Λαβιηνὸν τὸν Λαβιηνοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἀσχολίαις Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐπιδραμόντα.

Ἄ μὲν δὴ Λαβιηνός τε καὶ Παρθυαῖοι δρᾶσαντες ἔπαθον, ἢ Παρθυικὴ δηλώσει γραφή. 66. Ἐλενον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὀρμῇ κατασχόντα Σαρδοῦς, αὐθις ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπηίου, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα χαλεπαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς πείρας Ἀντωνίου συνάγοντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου. ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην παρελθόντες ἐτέλουν τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος Μάνιον μὲν ἔκτεινεν ὡς ἐρεθίσαντά τε Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶνδε αἴτιον γενόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηνε Σαλουιδιηνόν, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ Ῥοδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἰδίᾳ βουλευσai καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦδε προσπέμψαι περικαθημένῳ τὸ Βρεντέσιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τότε ἐξεῖπεν οὐ πρὸς πάντων ἐπαινούμενον, εὐφυῆς ὦν ἄρα καὶ ταχὺς ἐς εὐνοίαν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλουιδιηνόν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τι μόνου χρήζων καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψων αὐθις ἐς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐλθόντα ἔκτεινε διελέγξας καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ὡς ὑποπτον ὄντα ἔχειν ἔδωκεν Ἀντωνίῳ.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Octavian and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles.

What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history; 66. but in the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavian, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavian was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony's endeavours to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavian the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavian's army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundisium. This secret Antony revealed not with universal approbation, but because of his real frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavian instantly summoned Salvidienus to Rome pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavian confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.

CHAP.
VII
Antony
marries
Octavia

VIII

CAP.
VIII

67. Ῥωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδῶ καὶ Κύρνον ἐχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς περαιᾶς Λιβύης διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦντας. ἐπετίμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ' ὥς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἡξίου ταχύνειν γε τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων προυτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὠρισμένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐσφέρειν δὲ καὶ μοῖραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τι καρπουμένους. τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα σὺν ὁρμῇ μανιῶδει καθεῖλεν ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα κεκενωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δημεύσεσι κατὰβαρήσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους οὐδ' ἐς ἐπίκτιτον ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶνδε πανώδυνον γεγονέναι, ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύοιεν αὐτοὺς.

Συνιστάμενοί τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὐ συνισταμένους ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠπείλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ καταπρήσειν, 68. ἕως τὸ μὲν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

VIII

67. Now famine fell upon Rome, since the merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile fleets, which infested both shores. Thus there was a great rise in cost of provisions, and the people considered the cause of it to be the strife between the chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to make peace with Pompeius. As Octavian would by no means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war on account of the scarcity. As there was no money for this purpose, an edict was published that the owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius, and that those who acquired property by legacies should contribute a share thereof. The people tore down the edict with fury. They were exasperated that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war, not for extending the empire, but for private enmities and to add to their own power (for which reason the proscriptions and murders and this terrible famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive them of the remainder of their property.

They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned those who did not join them, and threatened to plunder and burn their houses, 68. until the whole

CHAP.

VIII

Sextus
Pompeius
cuts off
the corn
supply of
Rome

Riot in
the forum

CAP.
VIII

πλήθος ἅπαν ἡρέθιστο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὀλίγοις ὑπασπισταῖς ἐς μέσους ἦλθεν, ἐντυχεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν μέμψιν ἐκλογίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθύς ὀφθέντα ἔβαλλόν τε ἀφειδῶς πάνυ καὶ οὐδ' ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμπαρέχοντα καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ἡδοῦντο. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδὴν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον μὲν ὥς ἔτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομπηίου διαλύσεις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον· καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον, τότε ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὀπλίτας πλέονας, οἳ ἦσαν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὐ παριέντων οὐδ' ὥς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται διαιρεθέντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπεχειροῦν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνῆρουν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εὐμαρῶς οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ διαδρομὴν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἦν καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν οἰμωγαὶ καὶ βοαί. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος μόλις τε παρήλθε, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν Καῖσαρα περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. διαφυγόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ πλήθους τὰ νεκρά, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖη θεωρούμενα, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερριπτεῖτο· καὶ ἕτερον πένθος ἦν ὁρωμένων ἀνὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα, καὶ περιδυνόντων αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν κακοῦργοι τὰ εὐσχήμονα μάλιστα ὥς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαύετο σὺν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

populace was aroused, and Octavian with his friends and a few attendants came into the forum intending to intercede with the people and to show the unreasonableness of their complaints. As soon as he made his appearance they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleeding from wounds. When Antony learned what was going on he came with haste to his assistance. When the people saw him coming down the Via Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was in favour of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told him to go away. When he refused to do so they stoned him also. He called in a larger force of troops, who were outside the walls. As the people would not allow him even so to pass through, the soldiers divided right and left on either side of the street and the forum, and made their attack from the narrow lane, striking down those whom they met. The people could no longer find ready escape on account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the housetops. Antony made his way into the forum with difficulty, and snatched Octavian from the most manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought him safe to his house. The mob having been dispersed, the corpses were thrown into the river in order to avoid their gruesome appearance. It was a fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and certain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off the clothing of the better class as their own property.

CHAP.
VIII
Octavian
stoned by
the mob
and rescued
by Antony

CAP. VII. φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἤκμαζε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔστενε καὶ ἡσύχαζεν.

69. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους Λίβωνα καλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνησθήσει τοῦ κήδους, ἐργασόμενόν τι καὶ μεῖζον· τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς τῷ Λίβωνι ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστελλον, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχώρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λίβων ἐς νῆσον ὠρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν Αἶναρία. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὐθις ἠθροίζετο καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν, πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων ἔπεμπε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου, καταπρήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσεις. Λίβων μὲν δὴ συνεῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἡξίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδῶσοντας, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ· βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου, ἐξήεσαν ἐς Βαῖας ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

70. Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἔπειθον ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδαρος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδουῶς ἐπέστελλεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ βραδύνειν ἔτι, ὡς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβάσεων, εἰ караδοκοίη, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων· Μούρκον τε τούτοις ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περικτώμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μούρκον διὰ τε ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror and hatred for the triumvirs; the famine grew worse; the people groaned, but did not stir.

69. Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that they should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law,¹ and to accomplish something more important; and he himself promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called Aenaria.² When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavian with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also, threatening to burn Mucia, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, sent her to communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavian and Antony went to Baiae.

CHAP
VIII

B.C. 39
Negotiations with
Sextus
Pompeius

70. All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except Menodorus, who wrote to him from Sardinia either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. Menodorus also advised him to distrust Murcus, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with

¹ The text is doubtful.

² The modern Ischia.

CAP. VIII. ἐγκρατὴ βαρυνόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶνδε ὑπερρίπτει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ τι Μούρκῳ προσεῖχεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ἐς Συρακούσας ὑπεχώρει καὶ τινὰς ἰδὼν φύλακας ἐπομένους ἐκ Πομπηίου, φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐλοιδορεῖ. ὁ δὲ χιλιάρχον καὶ λοχαγὸν αὐτοῦ Μούρκου διαφθείρας ἔπεμψεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεραπόντων ἀνηρῆσθαι· ἕς τε πίστιν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τοὺς θεράποντας ἐσταύρου. οὐ μὲν ἐλάνθανε δεύτερον ἐπὶ Βιθυνικῷ τόδε μῦθος ἐργασάμενος, περὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐγκρατὴ φίλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Πομπήιον εὐεργέτην τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενον καὶ ἐκόντα ἐλθόντα ἐς Σικελίαν.

71. Μοῦρκος μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπειγόντων καὶ τὸν Μηνόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὥς οὐκ εὐνοία τοῦ δεσπότου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχοι στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Αἰναρίαν διέπλει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς ἀρίσταις, ἐξήρους λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβεβηκώς. καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν μὲν οὕτω σοβαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐφορώντων τῶν πολεμίων· ἅμα δὲ ἔφ, καταπηχθέντων σταυρῶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σανίδες τοῖς σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν καταστρωμάτων ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρήλθον ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ γῇ πεποιημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Λίβων ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον, ὀλίγου ρεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργοντος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Murcus lately on account of his high position and his stubbornness, became still more averse to him for this reason, and held no communication with him whatever, until, finally, Murcus retired in disgust to Syracuse. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards following him, and he expressed his opinion of Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed a tribune and a centurion of Murcus, and sent them to kill him and to say that he had been murdered by slaves. To give credibility to this falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not succeed in concealing this crime,—the next one committed by him after the murder of Bithynicus,—Murcus having been a man distinguished for his warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to that party from the beginning, and had rendered great assistance to Pompeius himself in Spain, and had joined him in Sicily voluntarily.

CHAP.
VIII

Sextus puts
Murcus
to death

71. Such was the death of Murcus. His other friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as opposing peace not so much from good-will to his master as from a desire to command an army and a province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Aenaria with a large number of his best ships, having embarked himself on a magnificent one with six banks of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore Octavian and Antony took their places, while Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a small space of water separating them, so that they

Sextus goes
to Puteoli
and has a
conference
with
Antony and
Octavian

CAP. VII. μὴ κεκραγότας ἀλλήλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦκειν ᾧετό ἀντὶ Λεπίδου, οἱ δὲ ὡς κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσουντες μόνην, τότε μὲν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπαὶ δὲ συχναὶ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἐκατέρων προκλήσεσιν. ἦται δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν προγεγραμμένων τε καὶ οἱ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις Γαίου Καίσαρος φυγὴν ἄδολον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἔντιμον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς συμβάσεις ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐς τὸ τέταρτον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ὡς ᾠνησόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων· καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀγαπήσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἤδη διὰ τὸ Μούρκου μύσος· καὶ προσιόντες τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι παρεκάλουν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήξατο ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς καὶ τῶνδε προδιδόντων αὐτόν, ὧν προμάχεται, καὶ θαμινὰ τὸν Μηνόδωρον ὡς στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὖνουν ἀνεκάλει.

72. Μουκίας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς γυναικὸς ἐναγουσῶν, αὐθις οἱ τρεῖς συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον Δικαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορμουσῶν τῶν φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· λελύσθαι μὲν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

could hear each other without shouting. As Pompeius thought that he had come in order to be admitted to a share of the government in place of Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for the time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued on the part of friends, who advanced various proposals from one side to the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the proscripts and the men with him, those who had participated in the murder of Gaius Caesar should be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest restoration to their homes and citizenship, and that the property they had lost should be restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by the people to an agreement, Octavian and Antony reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, promising to buy it from the present holders. They wrote to this effect to the proscripts themselves, hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the terms, for they already had apprehensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against Marcus. So they gathered around Pompeius and besought him to come to an agreement. Then Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he was betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as one most competent to command and his only friend.

72. Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavian, Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, and with ships moored round it as guards. Here they came to an agreement on the following terms :

CAP.
VIII

κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἀκωλύτους εἶναι πανταχοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσί, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας ὑποδέχεσθαι μηδ' ἐφορμεῖν ναυσὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν δὲ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Κύρνου καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νήσων, ἐς ὅσον ἄρχοιεν τῶν ἐτέρων Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, πέμποντα Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον αὐταῖς φέρειν σίτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ ταύταις, ὑπατεῦσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δι' ὅτου κρίνοι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱερωσύνης ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τὰδε μὲν εἶναι Πομπηίῳ, κάθοδον δὲ τοῖς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόβῳ Γαῖου Καίσαρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται· καὶ τῆς περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβον ἔφευγον καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλώλει, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρὶς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προγεγραμμένοις μοῖραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ.

73. Ἐς ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο καὶ ἐσημήναντο καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις φυλάσσειν ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐξένιζον δ' ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

CHAP.
VIII

They come
to an
agreement

That the war between them should cease at once both on land and sea, and that commerce should be everywhere unmolested; that Pompeius should remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford a refuge to fugitive slaves; that he should not blockade with his fleet the Italian coast, but should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and Octavian should hold sway over the other countries; that he should send to Rome the corn that had been long since required as tribute from those islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus in addition: that he might hold the consulship in his absence through any friend he might choose, and be inscribed as a member of the Augurs' College. Such were the conditions accorded to Pompeius himself; while the nobles who were still in exile were allowed to return, except those who had been condemned by vote of the Senate and judgment of the court for participation in the murder of Gaius Caesar. The property of the rest, who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods had been seized by violence, was all to be restored except movables, but proscripts were to receive a fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in the army of Pompeius were to be free, and free persons who had thus served should, upon their discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had served under Octavian and Antony.

73. Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony.

CAP. VII
 πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἐξήρους Πομπήιος περιωρμισμένης
 ἐς τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἐξῆς Ἀντωνίος τε καὶ Καίσαρ,
 σκηνοποιησάμενοι καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χῶματος,
 πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ἐστιῶντο,
 τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ'
 ὡς εἶχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αἷ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς παρώρ-
 μουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιειστήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ
 τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς εἶχον ὑπεζωσμένα ξιφίδια.
 λέγεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἐστιωμένων ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν πέμψαι Πομπήϊον, προτρέπων αὐτὸν
 ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς
 τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμαρτίας, ἀναλαβεῖν
 δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρώαν δι' ὀξύτατης ἀφορμῆς·
 ἐπιμελήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὧν μηδένα
 διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἅμα καὶ
 τῆς χρείας ἀξίως. “εἶθε Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσα-
 σθαι ταῦτα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ.” Μηνოდῶρ γὰρ ἀρμόζειν
 ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐ Πομπήϊον. ἤρμωσαν δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ
 δεῖπνῳ τὴν Πομπήϊου θυγατέρα, Λίβωνος οὔσαν
 θυγατριδὴν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίου,
 ἀδελφιδῷ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης
 ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἀντωνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα
 πρώτους, ἀντικαθιστάντος ὅμως Ἀντωνίου, ὃν ἂν
 βούλοιτο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπή-
 ιον, εἶτα Ἀηνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἶτ' αὖθις Ἀν-
 τωνιὸν τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὲ τότε μέλλοντας
 ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπιζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν
 τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

The first banquet took place on Pompeius' six-
banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On
succeeding days Antony and Octavian gave banquets,
they too on the mole, in tents, on the pretext
that thus all might participate, but perhaps really
for their better security and to quiet apprehensions ;
for they did not even then neglect precautions.
Their ships were moored alongside and guards
were stationed around them, and the banqueters
were girded with concealed daggers. It is said
that, while the three were feasting in the ship,
Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising
him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs
of his father and his brother, and to avail himself
of this most favourable occasion to resume the
sway that his father had exercised, saying that
he, with his own ships, would take care that
nobody should escape ; but that Pompeius replied,
in a manner worthy of his family and his position,
" Would that Menodorus had done this without my
knowledge." False swearing, that is, might suit
Menodorus, but not Pompeius. At this banquet
the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of
Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of
Antony and nephew of Octavian. On the following
day they designated the consuls for the next four
years, for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony
being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked
in his own place ; next Octavian and Pompeius ;
next Ahenobarbus and Sosius ; and, finally, Antony
and Octavian again ; and as they would then
have been consuls the third time it was expected
that they would then restore the government to the
people.

CHAP.
VIII
Banquets on
board ship
and on
shore

CAP.
VIII

74. Τάδε μὲν ἔπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὤδευον ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἦ τε πόλις καὶ ἡ Ἰταλία, ἐπαιάνιζον αὐτίκα ἅπαντες ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ, πολέμου τε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπιχωρίου καὶ ξεναγήσεως νιῶν καὶ φρουρῶν ὕβρεως καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτομολίας καὶ λεηλασίας πεδίων καὶ γεωργίας ἀργίας, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πῖεσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὥστε παροδεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οἷα σωτῆρσιν ἐγίγνοντο θυσίαι· καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός, ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν, ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθόντες. μόνοι δὲ ἤχθοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἐλευσομένων σὺν Πομπηίῳ χωρία κεκληρουχήκεσαν, ἡγούμεναι σφίσι τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἐχθροὺς παροικήσειν καί, εἴ ποτε δυνηθεῖεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἄμφι τὸν Πομπήιον φυγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ἑτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἦν ἡδονὴ καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὕτως ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένων.

75. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐξώρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἔπραξέ τε καὶ πράξει, αὐθις στρατηγούς πανταχῇ περιέπεμπε καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς ἐπενόει πάντα διεκόσμει. ἴστη δὲ πῃ καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

74. Having finished this business they separated, Pompeius going to Sicily by sea, Octavian and Antony to Rome by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. So, as the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honour as to saviours. The city would have given them a magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only people disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death.

CHAP.
VIII
Great
rejoicing
at Rome

75. After these events Octavian set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a

Antony
returns to
the East

CAP.
VIII

φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. τὸν δὲ στρατόν, ὅσος ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ συγχειμάσκειν, περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμνάσαι, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνοὺς ἔπεμπε, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπιδάμνῳ πάροικον, προθυμοτάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ Δαρδανέας, ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν γένος, αἰεὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπιτρέχοντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ μένειν ἐκέλευεν, ὥς ἂν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας ἔχῃ, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις χειμάσκειν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐς Λιβύην, τὰ ὑπὸ Σεξστίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄξοντα ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους· οὐ γάρ πω πέπυστο αὐτὰ Λέπιδου ἀφηρῆσθαι Σεξστίου.

76. Ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελλόμενα ἐφορῶν μόνα, ἀφέλειαν δὲ ἰδιωτικὴν αὐθις ἐξ ἡγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν καὶ θύρας ἡρεμούσας. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἄνευ σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκολουθοῖς δύο, ἐς διδασκάλων διατριβὰς ἢ ἀκροάσεις. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ἢ γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμηδία μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας· πολὺς γὰρ καὶ ἐς τήνδε ἐρρύη, ταχύς ὢν ἐς ἔρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ἑτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἣ τε ἐσθῆς αὐθις καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

prescribed tribute : in Pontus, Darius, the son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates : in Idumea and Samaria, Herod : in Pisidia, Amyntas ; in a part of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much attached to Brutus ; others against the Dardani, another Illyrian tribe, who were for ever making incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all round him, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He sent Furnius to Africa to bring four legions, that were under the command of Sextius, for service against the Parthians. He did not know as yet that Lepidus had deprived Sextius of the command of these troops.

76. Having made these dispositions, he spent the winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports sent from the army, exchanging the display of a commander for the simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and with no crowd at his doors. He went out, in like manner, without the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of the public teachers. He took his meals in the Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, with whom he was very much in love, being by nature excessively fond of women. At the end of the winter he was like another man. He changed

CHAP.
VIII

He winters
at Athens

B.C. 38

CAP. VIIII. μετὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡ ὄψις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ δορυφόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως· πρεσβεῖαί τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἱ τέως ἡρέμουν κεκελευσμέναι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρίνοντο, καὶ νῆες καθείλκοντο, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.

IX

CAP. IX. 77. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαί, κατὰ μὲν αἰτίας, ὡς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἐτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἶδε ἦσαν. Πελοπόννησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ, κελεύων, ὅσα ἔτι ὄφειλον αὐτῷ Πελοποννήσιοι δόντα ἢ αὐτὸν ἀναδεξάμενον ἀποδώσειν παραλαβεῖν ἢ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν χώραν, ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὀφλήμασι δεδόσθαι· χαλεπαίνων δέ, ὡς ὁ Καίσαρ ἔλεγεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπιστον εἶθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν ἐτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἐχόντων εἴτε Μηνοδώρου διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίους σπονδὰς εἶναι νομίζειν, ναῦς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐρέτας συνέλεγε καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε χρῆναι παντὸς οὐνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. ληστήριά τε αὐθις ἀφανῆ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠνώχλει, καὶ μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ἄκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγέννητο Ῥωμαίοις,

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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion.

CHAP.
VIII

IX

77. WHILE Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing between Octavian and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavian, which were the following: Antony had ceded the Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that Pompeius should wait till the collection had been made. But Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavian said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Mysterious robbery again infested the sea; and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who

CHAP.
IX
Peace
broken
between
Sextus and
Octavian

CAP.
IX. ὥστε ἐβόων οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίληψιν τετάρτου τυράννου κατὰ σπονδὰς γεγενῆναι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσάρ τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν, οἱ Πομπήϊον σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιπέμψαι· καὶ τὰδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ δήμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐξελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοποννήσου χάριν.

78. "Οσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὀρώντες αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πειθόμενον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις, διέφθειραν ἐνίους τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἴτε ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καίσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνოდῶρῳ, Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνოდῶρου δυνάμεως ἐκόντες ἐποιοῦν. καὶ Πομπηίος μὲν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ Μηνოდῶρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καῖσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, πρὸς τὸν Μηνόδωρον διέπλευσε σίτου κομιδῆς οὖνεκα καὶ Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνოდῶρῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνოდῶρου· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἐγχειρεῖν Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν πλῆθος ἕτερον. καὶ τότε ὃν ἔργον εἴτε Φιλαδέλφου εἴτε τῶν ἐς Μηνόδωρον παρὰ Πομπηίου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ εὐθὺς μὲν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὅμως, ἡγούμενος ἔργῳ τὴν εἰρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβουλευσόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ναῦς τε μακρὰς ἐκ Ῥαβέννης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ὁξέως περιέπεμπεν, ὡς ἐκατέρω-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to the tyranny. Octavian having caught certain pirates and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius had sent them out, and Octavian proclaimed this to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter complaint respecting the Peloponnesus. CHAP.
IX

78. Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavian, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia. The freedmen, for their part, did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus, and about the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavian, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavian to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Octavian accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundisium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about this war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundisium and Puteoli,

CAP. θεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἣν Ἀντωνίῳ
IX συνδοκῇ.

79. Ὁ δὲ ἦλθε μὲν εἰς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν
σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὐρών οὐ περιέ-
μεινεν, εἴτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος
ὥς παράσπονδον εἴτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν
ιδὼν πολλὴν οὔσαν (οὐ γάρ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυε
φόβων ἢ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία), εἴτε τι σημεῖον
δειδισάμενος. τῶν γὰρ περικοιμωμένων αὐτοῦ
τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὐρέθη δεδαπανημένος,
ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν
παραλελειμμένου, οὔτε τι βοήσας οὔτε τινὸς τῶν
συναναπαυομένων ἤσθημένου· καὶ λύκον ἔλεγον
οἱ Βρεντέσιοι πρὸ ἑὼ φανῆναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων
ἐκθέοντα. ἔγραφέ γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ λύειν
τὰ συγκεείμενα καὶ ἠπείλει Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν
ὥς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην· γεγέννητο γὰρ Πομπηίου
Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ
Ἀντώνιος ἐώνητο νόμῳ πιπρασκομένην ὥς
πολεμίου.

80. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπεν εἰς Σαρδόνα καὶ
Κύρνον τοὺς παραληψομένους, ἃ Μηνόδωρος
ἐνεχείριζεν, ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς
Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, μὴ αὐθις αὐτὰ ὁ
Πομπήιος ἐπιδράμοι. τριήρεις δὲ ἐτέρας ἐν Ῥώμῃ
καὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ προσέτασσε γίνεσθαι καὶ στρα-
τὸν πολὺν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μετεπέμπετο· Μηνό-
δωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ
ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἠγάγε νεῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν
ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ Καλου-
σίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ
παρασκευὴν ἔτι πλέονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if CHAP. IX
 Antony should agree in opinion with him.

79. Antony came at the appointed day with a Antony returns to Brundisium
 small escort, but not finding Octavian there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavian's great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundusians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavian not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for he had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war.

80. Octavian sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. Defection of Menodorus He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed,

CAP
IX τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περιμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δ' οὖσαν ἤδη παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορνιφίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης μεταγαγεῖν ἐς Τάραντα. Κορνιφικίῳ μὲν δὴ χειμῶν περιπλέοντι ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μόνῃ τῶν νεῶν ἢ ναυαρχὸς ἢ γενομένη Καίσαρι διεφθάρη· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας ἔτι, ὥς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσειε καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ λησταὶ κατείποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατείποι δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὴν ὅλην γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

81. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτοιμα γεγέννητο, ἐπέπλει τῇ Σικελίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλουσίσιος δὲ Σαβίνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· περιήει δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐταχύνετο ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἐπιπλέοντος ἤδη Καίσαρος ἤσθετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλουν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τὸν Καίσαρα, Καλουσίῳ δὲ καὶ Μηνοδώρῳ τὸν ἔχθιστον τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἑαυτοῦ Μενεκράτη προσέτασσε ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ. ὅδε οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δείλῃν ἐσπέραν πελάγιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συνέφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύοντο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς Αἰναρίαν παρῆλθεν· ἡοῦς δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν κόλπον ἐν χρῶ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum everything that was now in readiness. While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook him which destroyed only the admiral's ship, which had been built for Octavian himself. This was considered an omen of what was to take place. As the belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of the treaty, Octavian sought to dispel the suspicion. He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to give up the Peloponnesus.

CHAP.
IX

81. When all things were in readiness he set sail for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while Calvisius Sabinus, and Menodorus sailed from Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the desertion of Menodorus when Octavian was already moving against him. While the hostile fleets were advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of Octavian at Messana, and ordered Menecrates, who of all his freedmen was the bitterest enemy of Menodorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with a large fleet. This Menecrates then was observed by his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They retired into the bay near Cumae, where they passed the night, Menecrates proceeding to Aenaria. At day-break they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to

Octavian
makes war
against
Sextus

Sea-fight
at Cumae
between
Menodorus
and
Menecrates

CAP.
IX. μνηοειδεῖ στόλῳ παρέπλεον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκ-
πλέοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὐθις
ἐπιφαίνεται τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ
τάχους· δρᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἀναγομένους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος
οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐγχρίμπτων ἐξεώθει.
οἱ δὲ ἐξώκελλον τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἀπεμά-
χοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναχώρησίς
τε καὶ ἐφόρμησις, ὅτε βούλονται, καὶ σκαφῶν
ἐτέρων ἀλλαγὴ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἔκαμνον ἕκ τε
τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀκινησίας τῶν νεῶν· πεζομαχεῖν γὰρ πρὸς ναυμα-
χοῦντας ἐώκεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν
ἔχοντες.

82. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωρος καὶ Μενεκράτης
καθορῶσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόνον ἀφέν-
τες αὐτίκα μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπέ-
πλεον, ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ
πολέμου τιθέμενοι, ἐν ᾧ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσῃεν
ἔμελλεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ ῥύμης
ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτριψαν ἢ μὲν τὸν ἐμβολον
τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, ἢ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς
Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκατέρωθεν χεῖρες
ἐπεβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι
ἔργον ἦν, συνεστηκυίας ἐκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες
ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πόνου καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον.
ἀκόντιά τε γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα
ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καταρράκτας
ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἐπιέναι δι' αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας
δ' οὔσης τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, οἳ τε καταρράκ-
ται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἦσαν εὐεπιβατώτεροι καὶ
τὰ βαλλόμενα ὥς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βιαιότερα. τε-
θνεώτων δ' ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

prevent the enemy breaking through them. Menecrates again showed himself, and immediately came on with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon the land. They beached their ships and fought back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns, while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on which they had grounded, and by the inability to move. They were like land forces contending against sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat.

82. In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates came in sight of each other ; and, abandoning the rest of the fight, drove at once against each other with fury and shouting, as though they had staked the issue of the battle on this encounter, whichever should be the victor. Their ships came into violent collision and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grappling-irons were thrown by both, and the ships, being fastened together, could no longer manœuvre, but the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds of valour. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows were discharged, and bridges for boarding were thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges made a better passage-way for those who ventured on them, and his missiles were more effective for the same reason. Many men were already slain, and

CHAP.
IX

CAP.
IX

κατατετρωμένων, ὁ μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῶ τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν ἀκοντίῳ πολυγλώχινι Ἰβηρικῶ ὀλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν ἐπείξει. ἀχρεῖος οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐς μάχην γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὥς, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποτρύνων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεῶς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν οὐδὲ ἐκείνος δυνάμενος.

83. Καὶ τὸ μὲν λαιὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως ἐπεπράχει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Καλούσιος μὲν, διαπλέων ἐς τὸ λαιόν, ἀπετέμετό τινας τῶν Μενεκράτους νεῶν καὶ ἐκφυγούσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε, Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξελεύθερός τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουσίου συμπεσών, τὰς μὲν ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς δὲ ἐς πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλομένων ἐνεπίμπρα τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλούσιος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανιὼν τὰς τε φευγούσας τῶν ιδίων ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας ἐκώλυσε. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ηὐλίσαντο πάντες, ἔνθα καὶ τῆς προτέρας.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ προὔχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενεκράτους ὥς ἐπὶ ἡττῇ μεγίστῃ (δύο γὰρ οἶδε ἦσαν μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θαλάσσης ἐργάται, Μενεκράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος), ἅπαντα μεθεῖς ἐκ χειρῶν εὐθύς ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στόλον ὅλον ἀποβαλὼν.

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however, drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted. Although Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he remained there all the same, encouraging the others, until his ship was captured, when he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to do nothing more himself.

CHAP.
IX
Menodorus
wounded
and
Menecrates
drowned

83. Thus had fared the left wing of the naval fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right to the left and cut off some of Menecrates' ships from the main body, and when they fled pursued them to the open sea. Demochares, who was a fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' ships, put some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning from the pursuit, led back his own retreating ships and prevented the burning of any more. As night approached all rested in their stations of the previous night.

Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but Demochares, grieving over the death of Menecrates as the greatest possible defeat (for those two, Menecrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of Pompeius' sea-captains) abandoned everything and sailed for Sicily immediately, as though he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole fleet.

Octavian's
fleet
beaten

CAP.
IX

84. Ὁ δὲ Καλουίσιος ἕως μὲν ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Δημοχάρην προσεδόκα, παρέμενεν, ἔνθαπερ ὥρμιστο, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἱ τε γὰρ κράτισται τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ διωλώλεσαν, καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν εἶχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ Πομπήιον περὶ Μεσσήνην κατειλήφει ναῦς ἔχοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνας, ὥστε αὐτῷ παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Πομπηίῳ μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι ὀλίγας, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκείνῳ ναυτικὸν οὐ πάρεστιν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, Καλουίσιον περιμένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ εὖβουλον εἶναι τὸ ρίψοκίνδυνον, ἔνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλλην προσδοκῇ.

Ὡς δὲ Δημοχάρης εἰς Μεσσήνην κατέπλευσεν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος αὐτόν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ, ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους· 85. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφὶ τῇ Κύμῃ πυθόμενος ἐξέπλει τὸν πορθμὸν, ὑπαντήσων τῷ Καλουισίῳ. ἀνύσαντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ πλεόν καὶ Στυλίδα ἤδη παραπλέοντι καὶ εἰς τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἐπικάμπτοντι, ἐκθορὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξήπτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ τὰς πρόπλους ἐδίωκε καὶ πάσαις ἐνέβαλλε καὶ εἰς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο. αἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐνοχλούμεναι εἰς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον, Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐῶντος, εἴτε δείσαντος ἐν στενῷ ναυμαχεῖν εἴτ' ἐπιμέμοντος οἷς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διε-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

84. Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demochares would renew his attack, remained at his station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavian, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messina came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavian's friends advised him to improve this most favourable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reinforcements.

When Demochares arrived at Messina, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menecrates; 85. and when Octavian heard of his disaster at Cumae he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance, and while he was passing Styliis and turning into Scyllaeum, Pompeius darted out of Messina and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavian's fleet did not give battle, since Octavian forbade it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered

CHAP.
IX

A second
victory for
Pompeius

CAP. IX. γνώκει, μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουισίου· γνώμη δὲ αὐτοῦ παρά τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν ἅπασαι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευον καὶ κατὰ πρῶραν ἀπεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Δημοχάρους δ' ἐπιστήσαντος δύο ναῦς περὶ ἐκάστην ἐθορυβοῦντο ἤδη, πρὸς τε τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμεναι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο· καὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἶδε ὥσπερ αἱ περὶ Κύμην, ὁρμοῦσαί τε καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωρούντων.

86. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐξήλατο τῆς νεὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἄνω παρέπεμπε· Κορνιφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνευ προστάγματος ἀπέρρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥς δέον τι δρῶντας παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐστῶτας ἀμαχεῖ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι προκεῖσθαι. τόλμη τε παραβόλῳ πρῶτον ὁ Κορνιφίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοχάρους κατέσεισε καὶ εἶλε. καὶ Δημοχάρης μὲν ἐς ἑτέραν ἐξήλατο, τοιοῦτον δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόντου προσπλέοντες ἤδη Καλουισίος τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐχ ἐώρων οὔτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὔτε ἐκ θαλάσσης, πελαγιώτεροι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου κατείδον καὶ ἰδόντες ἀνεχώρουν· συνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῇσιν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν συμπλέεσθαι.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐκ τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται. 87. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

to his first determination not to fight without Calvisius. By his orders, however, all hugged the shore, rode at anchor, and defended themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Demochares, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into confusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumae, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat.

CHAP
IX

86. Octavian leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Demochares and captured it. Demochares leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavian's men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and, fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men.

Octavian is
driven
ashore and
retreats
to the
mountains

This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties; 87. but at nightfall, those who had reached the shore from

CAP.
IX. ἐς τὰ ὄρη συνέφευγον καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον
σύμβολα τοῖς ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ
διενυκτέρευον οὕτως ἄσιτοι καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι καὶ
πάντων ἐνδεεῖς. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁμοίως
ἔχων, παρεκάλει περιθέων ἐς τὴν ἑω κατοπαθῆσαι.
ταλαιπώρουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καλούσι-
σιος μὲν οὐδ' ὥς ἐγιγνώσκετο προσπλέων, οὐδὲ
ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολου-
μένων περὶ τὰ ναυάγια· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτέρου δαί-
μονος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον τέλος ἐπλη-
σίαζε διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενοι
τοὺς κρημνοὺς, τῷ πυρὶ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαι-
ρόμενοι, διέδραμον καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν αὐτο-
κράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὧδε ἔχοντας
καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἐθεράπευον, ἄλλους
ἄλλη διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι τὸν αὐτοκρά-
τορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνὴν ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐδενὸς
τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ θεραπευτήρων παρόντων, ὥς
ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τοσῶδε ταραχῇ διερριμμένων. περι-
πέμψας δ' εὐθύς πανταχῇ τοὺς ἐξαγγελοῦντας,
ὅτι σφύζοιτο, πυνθάνεται Καλούσιον σὺν ταῖς
πρόπλοις καταπλέοντα καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ δύο χρηστοῖς
καὶ ἀδοκῆτοις ἀνεπαύετο.

X

CAP.
X 88. Ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφορῶν
ἐθεᾶτο ναῦς ἐμπεπρησμένας τε καὶ ἡμιφλέκτους
ἔτι καὶ ἡμικαύστους ἄλλας τε λελυμασμένας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted CHAP.
IX numerous fires as signals to those who were still on the sea, and there passed the night without food, uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavian fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting them to endure their privations till morning. While he was undergoing these hardships it was not known that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything needful be obtained from the ships busied as they were with their wrecks. But good luck came to them from another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approaching by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disaster and judging of their route by the fire, they made their way through the crags. They found their commander, and those who had taken refuge with him, suffering from fatigue and want of food, and ministered to them, dividing the work, some caring for some, others for others. The centurions brought their commander into an improvised tent, as none of his body-servants were present, these having been dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had arrived with the vanguard of his fleet ; and, in view of these two helpful and unexpected events, he allowed himself some rest.

X

88. THE next morning, when Octavian looked out CHAP.
X upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned, others partly burned, others still burning, and others

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. X. ἰστίων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμ-
 πλεων τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν ἔτι σφωζομένων τὰ πολλὰ
 πεπονηκότα. προστησάμενος οὖν τὸν Καλουσίου
 στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπείγοντα τῶν σκαφῶν
 πλαγιάσας, ἡρεμούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε
 διὰ Καλουσίσιον εἴτε αὐθις ἀναγομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι
 διεγνωκότων. ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων ἐκατέρων, ἐκ μέσης
 ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσὼν ἤγειρε κύμα βίαιον ἐν
 ῥοώδει καὶ στενωφῷ χωρίῳ. Πομπήσιος μὲν οὖν ἐν
 Μεσσήνῃ λιμένων ἔνδον ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος
 νῆες αὐθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσορμον
 ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπε-
 φέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιν ὥστε δια-
 κρατεῖν ἐντελῶν ὄντων.

89. Μηνόδωρος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν
 ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη
 καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλευεν· ἀσθενέστερον δὲ
 ἔχων τὸ κύμα διὰ τὸν βυθόν, εἰρεσία ὅμως καὶ
 πρὸς τόδε ἐνίστατο καρτερᾷ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι,
 καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
 πλῆθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὥς
 ἐν ἑαρι, τὰς ναῦς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἔκ τε τοῦ
 πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κοντοῖς
 ἐξεώθουν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τραχυτέρου δὲ τοῦ πνεύ-
 ματος γενομένου συνεκέχυτο πάντα καὶ συνετρί-
 βοντο αἱ νῆες, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀπορρηγνύουσαι καὶ
 ἐς τὴν γῆν ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλήλας τινασσόμεναι· βοή
 τε ἦν παμμυγῆς δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰμωζόντων καὶ
 παρακελευόντων ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀνήκοον· οὐ γὰρ
 ἐφικνοῦντο ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

broken in pieces; and the sea filled with sails, CHAP. rudders, and tackle, while, of the ships that were ^X saved, the greater part were damaged. Having ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs on those of his vessels that most needed them, canting them, the enemy meantime remaining quiet, either because they feared Calvisius, or because they had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus they remained on either side until midday, when a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius was then inside the harbour of Messina. The ships of Octavian were again shattered on the rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the rocks and against each other, for, as they were not fully manned, they were not under good control.

Terrible
storm in
the straits
of Sicily

89. Menodorus, apprehending that this rising storm would increase in violence, moved farther seaward and rode at anchor: here, on account of the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous; and even here he had recourse to hard rowing to avoid being driven ashore, some of the others following his example, but most of them, thinking that the wind would soon subside, as it usually does in the springtime, moored themselves with anchors at either end, landward and seaward, pushing each other off with poles. As the wind grew more violent everything was thrown into confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, and were thrown quivering on the shore or against one another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain were mingled together, and exhortations that fell upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard, and there was no distinction between pilot and common

Destruction
of
Octavian's
fleet

CAP. ^X ἰδιώτου διέφερεν οὔτε κατ' ἐπιστήμην οὔτε προστάσσω. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόρος ἦν ὁμοιος ἔν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καί, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ ξύλοις ἀρασσομένων· ἔγεμεν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἰστίων καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεκρῶν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγὼν ἐκνήχοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσοντο καὶ οἶδε ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπᾶσμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὃ συνήθως ἐπιγίγνεται τῷδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἀήθεις καὶ τόδε ἐξέπλησσε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερόμενα συνέπιπτεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς νύκτα χαλεπώτερον ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ διόλλυσθαι.

90. Οἰμωγαὶ τε ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μετακλήσεις ἀνά τε τὴν γῆν διαθεόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ καλούντων ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ θρηγνούντων, ὅτε μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ὥς ἀπολωλότας· ἔμπαλιν τε ἐτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ὑπερκυνπτόντων τὸ κύμα καὶ ἐς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ παρακαλούντων. ἀμήχανα δὲ πάντα ἦν ἐκατέροις· καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ ἦσσαν ἦν ἀπορωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κύμα συναράξειεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας. ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ, γῆς ὄντες ἀγχοτάτῳ καὶ τὴν γῆν δεδιότες καὶ οὔτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστήναι· ἡ γὰρ στενότης ἡ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ κλύδων ἐπιπесῶν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ

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sailor, knowledge and authority being alike un-
availing. The same destruction awaited those in
the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter
being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber.
The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living
and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming
to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf.
When the convulsion seized the water,¹ as is usual
in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed
to it, and then their vessels were whirled around
and dashed against each other worse than ever.
As night came on the wind increased in fury, so
that they perished no longer in the light but in the
darkness.

90. Groans were heard throughout the entire
night, and the cries of men running along the
shore and calling their friends and relatives upon
the sea by name, and mourning for them as lost
when they could hear no responses; and anon
the cries of others lifting their heads above the
waves and beseeching aid from those on shore.
Nothing could be done on either land or water.
Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed
in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but
the danger was almost as great on land as at sea,
lest the surf should dash them against the rocks.
So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest
that those who were nearest the land feared the
land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid
collision with each other, for the narrowness of
the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together
with the force of the waves, the rotary motion
of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains,

CHAP.
X

Great loss
of life

¹ This refers to the whirlpool of Charybdis.

CAP. X τῶν περικειμένων ὁρῶν ἐς θυέλλας περικλῶμενον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ σπασμὸς ἐπὶ πάντα εἰλούμενος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε· τό τε σκότος ἠνώχλει νυκτὸς μάλιστα μελαίνης· ὅθεν ἔθνησκον οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους ἔτι, οἳ μὲν θορυβούμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἳ δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παριέμενοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἔνιοι ὡς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως. γενόμενον γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρεῖσσον ἐπινοίας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδα ἀφηρείτο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἄφνω τὸ πνεῦμα προσιούσης ἡμέρας διελύετο καὶ μεθ' ἡλίου ἐπιτολὴν πάμπαν ἐμαραίνεται. καὶ τὸ κῦμα ὅμως καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλυθέντος, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ποτὲ τηλικούτον ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι· γενόμενον δὲ ἔθους τε καὶ νόμου κρεῖσσον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλεόν.

91. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραίας ἡμέρας πολλὰ τῷ πολέμῳ βλαβεῖς καὶ δύο τοῖσδε συμπτώμασιν ὁμοῦ συνενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰππώνειον εὐθὺς ἦει διὰ ὁρῶν τῶν νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδὴν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενος τὴν συμφοράν, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν εἶχεν ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστελλε πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς εἶναι, μή τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ὡς ἐν κακοπραγία γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἅπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολμήσειε καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁ Πομπήιος. ὁ δὲ οὔτε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνενόησεν οὔτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ ναυαγίου παροῦσιν ἢ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything CHAP. X in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were irretrievably doomed. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavian's ships and men were destroyed by it.

91. Octavian, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had subsided.

Octavian
retreats
to Vibo

CAP.
X. εχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερείδεν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν διαζων-
νυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμῳ διαπλέοντας ἐς τὸ
Ἰππώνειον, εἴτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῖν οἱ νομίζων
εἴτ' ἄπειρος ὢν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἴθ', ὥσπερ
εἴρηταί μοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι, ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅλως μαλακὸς
ὢν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέ-
οντας.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἡμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιε-
σώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπὼν
δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινὰς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν
ἦει δυσφορῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεό-
μενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγό-
μενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ
συμβάσεων αὐθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ'
ἔχρηζε καὶ ἠπόρει, Ῥωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων
οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἐόντων, οὓς ἐπινοήσειε. δεινὸς
δὲ ὢν ἀεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἔπεμπε Μαικήναν
ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἑναγχος
ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξό-
μενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὀπλίτας
ὀλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν
θάλασσαν μεθεὶς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι.
οὕτω δ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώ-
νιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκη κατὰ
Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας

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On the contrary, he paid no attention to the enemy while they were frapping their ships with ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a favourable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either because he thought that the disaster was all-sufficient for him, or because he did not know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere, because he was altogether inefficient in attack and determined only to defend himself against assailants.

CHAP.

X

Pompeius
does not
pursue

92. Less than half of Octavian's ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent Maecenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter respecting the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Maecenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa.¹ His friends

Octavian
appeals to
Antony
for aid

¹ There is probably a gap or error in the text.

CAP. X. ἄγων ἐφάνη. οἳ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεόν τινας αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχνοῦντο καὶ ἐποίουν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίη καὶ λαμπροτέρα τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγγυτο· 93. ἀρχομένου δ' ἡρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνήλλακτο τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἔτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὖθις ὡς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ἀρκοῦντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐτέρας ἀσχολίας προύφερε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἡ αὖθις ἐπιμεμφόμενός τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενευ ὅμως καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγίᾳ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρήζων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους Ἰταλοῦ, Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐκάτερον ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχερὲς δ' ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ Καίσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὀκταουία οὖν ἐχώρει πρὸς Καίσαρα διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλελειφθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλεῦσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικήνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλιαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, σὺντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναι Καλλιαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον· βουλευθῆναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ

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and certain cities also promised him ships, and built them. CHAP.
X

Accordingly, Octavian cast off his despondency, and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones. 93. At the beginning of spring, Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavian as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated with Octavian again, because the expense of his fleet was burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavian's army; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavian. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavian complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits; she replied that that had been explained through Maecenas. Octavian said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him; she replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before

B.C. 36

Antony comes to his help with three hundred ships

CAP. ^X τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδόσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ παιδί Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὡμολόγητο. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἡ Ὀκταουία, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Καλλίαν ἔπεμπεν, ἐς βάσανον τῷ Καίσαρι διδούς· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο μὲν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ἔφη καὶ συμμίξειν Ἀντωνίῳ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίου καὶ Τάραντος, μέσον ἔχων ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον.

94. Κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων τῷ ρεύματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθορὼν ἐς τι τῶν παρορμούντων σκαφῶν ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ ἐπέρα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, πιστεύον ὡς φίλῳ. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἀντεμιμείτο, καὶ ξυμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ διήριζον, ἐκάτερος ἐκβῆναι βυλόμενος ἐς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ἐτέρου. ἐνίκα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἤξων ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπὶ τε τῆς ἀπήνης Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρήλθέ τε ἀφύλακτος καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὁμοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρὶς δορυφόρων παρ' αὐτῷ. τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεδείκνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχὴς ἡ μεταβολή, πρὸς τε τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας.

95. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Πόμπηιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς νέωτα ἀνεβάλλετο· ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπιμένειν διὰ Παρθυαίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντέδοσαν ὅμως ἀλλήλοις, Καίσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ναῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἃς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ δισφυρίους Ἰταλοὺς ὀπλίτας, οὓς ἐπιπέμψειν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὀκταουία τὸν

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setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. After Octavian had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavian with permission to put him to the question. Octavian would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is the river whence the town is named¹ between them.

94. They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavian, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavian saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavian prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs.

CHAP.
X.
Meeting of
Octavian
and Antony

95. However, Octavian postponed his expedition against Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavian 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavian promised to send him 20,000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the

¹ The Taras.

CAP. X. ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασή-
λοις τριηριτικοῖς, ἐπιμίκτοις ἕκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν
καὶ μακρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ χιλίοις
λογάσι σωματοφύλαξιν, οὓς ἐπιλέξαιτο Ἀντώ-
νιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς,
ἢ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐψηφίστο ἀνδράσιν, ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῖς
ῥιζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες.
οὕτω μὲν οὖν διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ
Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἠπείγετο, τὴν
Ὀκταουίαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν μετὰ
θυγατρὸς ἤδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

96. Μηνόδωρος δέ, εἴτε τις ὢν φύσει παλιμ-
προδότης εἴτε δείσας τὴν ποτε ἀπειλὴν Ἀντωνίου,
ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς ἀνδράποδον πολεμο-
ποιόν, εἴτε ἐλασσόνων ἀξιούσθαι νομίζων παρ'
ἃ προσεδόκησεν, εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἐξελευ-
θέρων τοῦ Πομπηίου συνεχῶς ὀνειδιζόντων εἰς
ἀπιστίαν δεσπότην καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπανελ-
θεῖν Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόντος, πίστιν αἰτήσας
καὶ λαβὼν ἡντομόλησε πρὸς Πομπήιον σὺν ἑπτὰ
ναυσί, Καλούσιον τὸν ναύαρχον τοῦ Καίσαρος
διαλαθών. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Καλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν
Ἀγρίππαν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἐκάθαιρεν αὐτὸν ὁ
Καῖσαρ ὧδε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαύουσιν τῆς θαλάσ-
σης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοὺς περιέστηκε κατὰ ναῦν
μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱεουργοὶ θύουσιν
μὲν ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ σκαφῶν
περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμ-
περιπλεόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρω-
μένων εἰς τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ

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favour from Antony, made her brother a present of CHAP. X
 ten three-banked phaseli—a combination of war-ship
 and merchant vessel—and Octavian gave her in
 return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be
 selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate
 voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it
 for five years without again asking the people. And
 so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Antony
returns
to his
Parthian
expedition
 Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also
 a daughter already born to them.

96. But Menodorus,—either because he was a Menodorus
deserts to
Pompeius
 turn-coat by nature, or because he feared the former
 threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish
 him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received
 less consideration than he had expected, or because
 the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually
 reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and
 urging him to return,—now that Menecrates was
 dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it,
 deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the
 knowledge of Octavian's admiral, Calvisius. For
 this reason Octavian dismissed the latter from his
 command and appointed Agrippa in his place.

When the fleet was ready, Octavian performed a B.C. 36
 lustration for it in the following manner. The altars
 are erected on the margin of the sea, and the multi-
 tude ranged around them in a circle of ships, observ-
 ing the most profound silence. The priests who per-
 form the ceremony offer the sacrifice while standing
 at the water's edge, and carry the expiatory offerings
 in skiffs three times round the fleet, the generals
 sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the
 bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet.

CAP. X. ἀπαίσια τραπήναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτά, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμούς ἐπιθέντες ἄπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεὼς ἐπευφημεῖ. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικὰ καθαίρουσιν.

XI

CAP. XI. 97. Ἐμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, ὁ δὲ Λέπιδος ἐκ Λιβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὥς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἡοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν. καὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προείρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἣν τινα Ῥωμαῖοι νουμηνίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰούλιου ἀντὶ Κυντιλίου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥρισε τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσιούμενος ἴσως διὰ τὸν πατέρα νικηφόρον αἰεὶ γενόμενον· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λεπίδῳ μὲν ἀντέταττε Πλένιον εἰ Λιλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὀπλιτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον κούφως, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἔω καὶ δύσιν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσαν ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα Λιπάραν τε καὶ Κοσσύραν, ἵνα μήτε Κοσσύρα Λεπίδῳ μήτε Λιπάρα Καίσαρι ἐνορμίσματα ἢ ναύσταθμα γένοιτο εὐκαιρα ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνείχεν ἐπεδρεῦον ὅπῃ δεήσειεν.

98. Οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενομένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνήγοντο πάντες ἅμα ἡοῖ, Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίαις ὀλκάσι καὶ μακραις ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them CHAP.
into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars X
and burn them, while the multitude chant in
unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations
of the fleet.

XI

97. It was intended that Octavian should set sail CHAP.
from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from XI
Tarentum, against Sicily, in order to surround the Expedition
enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south. against
The day of Octavian's sailing had been previously Sextus
communicated to all; it was the tenth day after Pompeius
the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar,
was the calends of the month which, in honour of
the first Caesar, they call July instead of Quintilis.
Octavian fixed on this day, perhaps because he con-
sidered it propitious on account of his father, who
was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plenius
at Lilybaeum with one legion and a considerable
body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He
guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and
west, and especially the islands of Lipara and
Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbours
and naval stations, the one for Octavian the other for
Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval
force he kept together at Messana watching its
chances.

98. In this way they made their preparations on Lepidus
either side, and when the calends came they all set brings a
sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships fleet from
of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of Africa

CAP. καὶ ἵππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ ἑτέρα
 XI παρασκευῇ πολλῇ, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς
 Ἀντωνίου ναυσὶν ἑξ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δύο
 μόναις καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐπεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἐρέται
 χειμῶνος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρ-
 χείας, θύων ἅμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος
 νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδίοις καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ
 Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμονι θαλάσσει, συλλήπτορας
 αὐτῷ κατὰ ἐχθρῶν πατρώων γενέσθαι. πρόπλοι
 δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης διηρεύ-
 νων, καὶ Ἀππίος μετὰ πλήθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυ-
 λακῶν εἶπετο. τρίτῃ δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡμέρᾳ
 νότος ἐμπεσὼν Λεπίδου μὲν ὀλκάδας ἀνέτρεψε
 πολλὰς, ὥρμίσθη δὲ ὅμως ἐς Σικελίαν καί, Πλένιον
 ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπή-
 γετο καὶ ἑτέρας ἐβιάζετο. Ταῦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου
 τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς Τάραντα ἐπαλινδρόμει. Ἀππίου
 δ' ἄρτι τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ἄκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν
 συνετρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δ' ἐς
 τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ ῥύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ δι-
 ερρίφησαν οὐκ ἀσινεῖς. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀρχομένου
 μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸν Ἑλεάτην κόλπον ἐρυμνὸν
 ὄντα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἐξήρους μιᾶς, ἣ περὶ τῇ
 ἄκρᾳ διελύθη. λιβὸς δὲ τὸν νότον μεταλαβόντος
 ὁ κόλπος ἐκυκᾶτο, ἐς τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀνεωγμένος,
 καὶ οὔτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἔτι πρὸς ἐναντίου
 τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, οὔτε κῶπαι κατεῖχον οὔτε
 ἄγκυραι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλήλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας
 ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν
 ἀτοπώτερον.

99. Ἐνδόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ
 ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter. Octavian sailed from Puteoli, offering sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to Saviour Neptune, and to Waveless Ocean, that they should be his allies against his father's enemies. Certain ships sent in advance made examination of the bays, and Appius with a large squadron followed as a rear guard. On the third day after their departure a south wind blew with violence and capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian coast, laid siege to Plenus in Lilybaeum, and got possession of some towns by persuasion and others by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not without injury. At the beginning of the storm, Octavian took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea, except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by a south-wester, which threw the bay into commotion, as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They crashed against each other or against the rocks, and by night confusion became worse confounded.

99. When the tempest had subsided, Octavian buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed

CHAP.
XI

Another storm damages Octavian's ships and causes delay

CAP.
XI καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐνέδνε, καὶ ὥπλιζεν ἐτέροις ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ' αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρινίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τὰδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἤδη τοῦ θέρους προκόπτοντος· ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρος ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπείξεως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρῳ ναῦς κενὰς ἐξέπεμπεν. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μέizonι, Μαικῆναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγυνότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἰππώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ περὶ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

100. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιαύδε εὐκαιρία τοσοῖσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡξίου, ἀλλ' ἔθνε μόνον θαλάσση καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δις οὕτω θέρους πταῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ' αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε χαυνούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη

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those who had swum ashore and furnished them with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of liburnian galleys had been destroyed. He was likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs; and now the end of summer was approaching, for which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war till the following summer, but as the people were suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the crews of the ships he had lost to fill the empty ones in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more serious misfortune he sent Maecenas to Rome on account of those who were still under the spell of the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of that man had not yet lost its influence over them. Octavian himself visited the new colonies throughout Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been excited by the recent events. He also went to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus. Then he proceeded to Vibo, where he encouraged his infantry and hastened the preparations of his fleet, the time for his second invasion of Sicily being near at hand.

100. Pompeius however did not deign to seize even the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple

CHAP.
XI

Sextus
fails to use
his oppor-
tunities

CAP.
XI τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι χλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανῇν μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιοῦμενον ἄρα ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. ἐλπίσας δ' ἀναζεύξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, ὥς ἐπύθετο ναυπηγούμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσούμενον αὐθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν ὥς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν, Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἑπτὰ ὧν ἤγαγεν ἔπεμπε κατασκευόμενον τὰ νεώλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δράσοντα, ὅτι καὶ δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι σὺν ὑποψία μόνων ἡξίωτο ὧν ἤγαγε νεῶν, ἐπεβούλευεν αὐθις αὐτομολίαν.

101. Ἐπινοῶν δὲ πρότερον, ὥς ἐς πάντα οἱ συνοῖσον, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδωκε τοῖς συμπλέουσιν, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίον, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσίᾳ τρισὶν ἡμέραις πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις σταδίοις καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγούμενων Καίσαρι νεῶν οἷα σκηπτὸς ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐς ἀφανὲς ἀναχωρῶν ἥρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδας, αἱ τὸν σῆτον ἔφερον, ὁρμούσας ἢ παραπλευούσας κατέδυνεν ἢ ἀνεδεῖτο ἢ ἐνεπίμπρη. θορύβου δὲ πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος ἔτι καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐπὶ ὕλην ἐπεπόρευτο. γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἐξώκειλέ ποτε τὴν ναῦν ἐκὼν ἐς ἔρμα γῆς ἀπαλὸν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν καταθορόντων

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cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark CHAP.
 blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of XI
 Neptune. He hoped that Octavian would now
 take himself off, but when he learned that the
 latter was building ships and was about to renew
 the expedition against him that summer, he became
 alarmed at finding himself at war with a man
 of such indomitable spirit and such formidable
 preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven
 ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards
 of Octavian and to do whatever damage he could.
 Menodorus had been vexed for some time past
 because the naval command had not been given to
 him, and he now perceived that he was entrusted
 with only the ships that he had brought, because he
 was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion.

101. Conceiving that however matters might Menodorus
 turn out, he should first signalize himself by some again
 act of valour, he distributed among his companions turns
 all the gold he had, and crossed by a three days' traitor
 rowing, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and
 fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels
 that were guarding Octavian's shipyards, and dis-
 appeared carrying off the guard-ships by twos and
 threes, sinking also, or capturing, or burning the
 merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored
 there or sailing along the coast. Everything was
 thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus,
 both Octavian and Agrippa being absent, for Agrippa
 had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of
 bravado Menodorus once ran his ship upon a sand-
 bank, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended
 to be stuck in the mud, until his enemies dashed
 down from the mountains upon him as to a certain

CAP. ^{XI} ὥς ἐπὶ Μηνოდώρου θήραν ἔτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος ὥχετο σὺν θαύματι.

Ὡς δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἷος ἔχθρός τε καὶ φίλος εἶη, Ῥέβιλον μὲν ἐλών, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, μεθῆκε, μνῶμενος ἤδη τὸ μέλλον. 102. Μινδίῳ δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ, τῶν ἐταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγονὼς αὐτομολία, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν Μίνδιον βουλευεῖν αὐτομολίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσπελάσας ἡξίου Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἐς τίνα νησίδα ἐπὶ λόγοις συνοίσουσι. καὶ συνελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἑτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν ἐς Πομπήιον ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Καλουισίου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππου μεταλαβόντος ἐπανελεύσεσθαι πρὸς Καίσαρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειεν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσσάλα τοῦ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικούντος. ἔφη δ' ἐπανελθὼν μὲν ἰάσεσθαι λαμπροῖς τὸ
 * ἀμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέχρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖσθαι τίνα τῶν Καίσαρος ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὖθις ἐλυμαίνετο, Μεσσάλας δ' ἐνεδοίασε μὲν ὥς ἐπὶ αἰσχυρῷ, ἐνέδωκε δ' ὅμως, εἴτε πολέμου ταῦτ' εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθὼν ἢ τεκμηράμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὖθις ἡὔτομόλει καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντα προσπίπτων ἡξίου συγγνώμην μὴ λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγῆς. ὁ δὲ ἐς

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prey, when he backed away, and left them in amazement. CHAP. XI

When he had sufficiently shown what he was capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebilus, having a view already to the future. 102. During his former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavian, and he now told his own men that Mindius had the intention of betraying his party and deserting to that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy and invited Mindius to go with him to a small island in order to have a conference. When the latter came, and there was nobody else within earshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had been appointed to the command of the fleet he would come back to Octavian, who had done him no wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa's absence. He said that on his return he would make amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged to harass the forces of Octavian as before in order to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala hesitated at so dirty a transaction, but he nevertheless yielded, either because he considered such things necessary in war, or because he had learned beforehand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavian. So Menodorus again deserted, and, upon the approach of Octavian, threw himself at his feet and begged that he would pardon him without asking for the reasons for his flight. Octavian conceded his safety

He
surrenders
his ships
and himself
to Octavian

CAP. XI. μὲν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ συνεγίνωσκε διὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, τοὺς δὲ τριηράρχους αὐτοῦ μεθίει χωροῦντας ὅποι θέλοιν.

103. Ἐτοίμου δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὖθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἰππώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λεπίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθμεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὐθὺ Ταυρομενίου, τρία δ' ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυλίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφεδρεῖν τοῖς ἐσομένοις. Ταῦρον δ' ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον ὄρος, ὃ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεῖν ἐκ Τάραντος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιέπλει διεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰρεσίαν· καὶ τὰ πεζὰ αὐτῷ παρωμάρτει, προερευνώντων τὴν τε γῆν ἱππέων καὶ λιβυρνίδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐξ Ἰππωνείου ἐπιδραμὼν ἐπιφαίνεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἰππώνειον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, τὰς τε ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασσε ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ὥς βοηθήσων, ὅποι δεήσειεν.

104. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ αὖθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἦγον αἱ ὀλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπήντα πελάγιος ἐκ Πομπηίου Παπίας καὶ διέφθειρεν ὥς φίλους δεχομένας· ᾤοντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Λεπίδου συναντᾶν. αἱ δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καθείλκοντο, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὀλκάδες ὥς καὶ τάσδε ἄλλας πολεμίας

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

CHAP.
XI

103. When the fleet was ready Octavian set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there, and three legions he sent to Styliis and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail round from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium, which is opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, cavalry reconnoitring by land and liburnians by sea. While he was making this movement Octavian, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said, guarded all the landing places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

Disposition
of
Octavian's
forces

104. Such were the preparations of Octavian and Pompeius. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius' captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus leisurely, and when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for

Disaster
to Lepidus

CAP. XI. ἐξέκλιναν, ἕως αἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐλήφθησαν, αἱ δ' ἀνετράπησαν, αἱ δ' ἐς Λιβύην ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διώλετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καί, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ τοῦσδε Τισιηνὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Λέπιδον κατήχθησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δ' ὕστερον. καὶ Παπίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπήιον.

105. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἣ τῶν πέντε νήσων ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν ἐξ Ἰππωνείου, προερευνωμένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης· στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπῳ τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἰδὼν ἐν τε Πελωριάδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἴκασεν αὐτὸν παρεῖναι Πομπήιον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγρίππα διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἰππώνειον αὐθις ἀπέπλει καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἰππωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχαζεν, ὥς Ταυρομένιον αἰρήσων ἀπόντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς αὐτῷ διχόθεν παρέξων. Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ἱερὰν διέπλει καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποστάντων εἶλε τὴν Ἱερὰν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλεν ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐς Μύλας Δημοχάρεϊ τῷ Πομπηίου, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, τὸ βίαιον ὑφορώμενος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἔπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρεϊ ναῦς ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐξελεύθερον ἄγοντα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπετο ἄλλαις ἐβδομήκοντα.

106. Ἀγρίππας δ' ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὥς Παπίᾳ μόνῳ ναυμαχίᾳ

other enemies and fled. So some of them were CHAP. XI burned, some captured, some upset, and the rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached the land. The other legions re-embarked and joined Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed back to Pompeius.

105. Octavian crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle,¹ one of the five Aeolian islands, having made a reconnoissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylae, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hieria, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylae, Demochares, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa and sent to Demochares from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apollopheanes, and followed in person with seventy others.

106. Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hieria before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only. When he saw the

¹ The modern Stromboli.

CAP. ^{XI} σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέονι ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἤγε κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν· ἐσκεύαστο δ' ἀμφοτέροις πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον κατὰ τε πρῶραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἴ τε παρακελεύσεις, οἷας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγένητο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἦρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σὺν τε βοῇ καὶ ῥοθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπηίῳ μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαιότερα δὲ ὅμως ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι· καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέκτουν, καὶ ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἢ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἢ κώπας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἔβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἥσσονα· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ κατέσειον ἢ διερρήγνυνον καί, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἔβαλλόν τε ὡς ταπεινοτέρας ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ κόρακας ἢ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθεῖεν, ἐξήλλυντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

fleet of Apollophanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavian at once that Pompeius was at Mylae with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hieria in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavian were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavian, but the later were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, and they broke oar blades and rudders, cut off oar handles, or separated the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavian sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the "ravens"¹ and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians whenever they were overpowered in this manner leaped into the sea.

CHAP.
XI

He attacks
the
Pompeian
fleet and
wins a
victory

They were picked up by their small boats, which

¹ A plank with a spike, for grappling.

CAP. XI. Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν, 107. ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἔτετο μάλιστα εὐθὺ τοῦ Παπίου καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοῖλα ἀνέρρηξεν· ἡ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσεύσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμῖαι πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τὸ κατάστρομα ἀναρρήξαντες ἐξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρορμοῦσαν ἀναληφθεὶς αὐθις ἐπῆει τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ὅρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελούσας καὶ ψιλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, Ἀγρίππα δὲ τὸν ἕτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐσήμηνε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες ἀεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. Ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπιβαρῆσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐς τοὺς αἰγιαλούς, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.

108. Καὶ Ἀγριππας, κωλύοντων αὐτὸν τῶν κυβερνητῶν μεγάλαις ναυσὶν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δ' αὐτῷ παραινούντων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν πολυχείμωνι θαλάσσει, μόλις ἐσπέρας ἀνεξεύγνυε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ ἐς τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάψαντες ἄλλα ἱκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικοῦταις ναυσὶν ἀντέσχον, τειχομαχήσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

were hovering around for this purpose, 107. but ^{CHAP.} Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck ^{XI} his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking into the hold. The men in the towers were shaken off, the water rushed into the ship, and all the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off. The others broke through the deck and escaped by swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius, who observed from a mountain that his ships were making little headway, and that whenever they came to close quarters with the enemy they were denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal to retire in good order. This they did, advancing and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea by river deposits.

108. Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to fight a battle by night if necessary : but his friends advised him not to be carried away by rashness and not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians made sail to their harbours, having lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius praised his own men because they had resisted such formidable vessels, saying they had fought against walls rather than against ships ; and he rewarded

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. ^{XI} ἡ ναυμαχῆσαι καὶ ὡς νενικηκότας ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν κουφοτέρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

XII

CAP. ^{XII} Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ Μύλας Ἀγρίππα καὶ Παπία γενομένης· 109. τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα ὁ Πομπήιος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ, μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπὼν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατόν, ἐς ὅσον ἤπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει· καὶ παρήλθε μὲν εἰσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἐξεώσθη. προσεχώρησαν δ' ἕτεραι πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ἰεράν. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἤδη μὲν ἐς Λευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν ἔτι ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν· ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας ἔμελλε νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομένιον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνω μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νενικηκῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιοῦσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πάντως ἡγεῖτο Πομπήιον Ἀγρίππα παραμένειν. κατασκευσάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

them as though they had been victorious. He en-
couraged them to believe that, as they were lighter,
they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on
account of the current. He said also that he would
make some addition to the height of his ships.

CHAP.
XI

XII

So ended the naval battle of Mylae, between
Agrippa and Papias. 109. But Pompeius suspected
that Octavian had gone to the camp of Taurus for
the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was
the case. So, directly after supper, he sailed to
Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylae so
that Agrippa might think that he was still there.
Agrippa, as soon as he had given his army sufficient
rest, set sail for Tyndaris, which was apparently
ready to surrender. He entered the town, but the
garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some
other towns espoused his cause and received his garri-
sons, and he returned that evening to Hierapolis. In the
meantime, Octavian had sailed from Scylacium to
Leucopetra, having learned for a certainty that
Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylae on
account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the
straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night,
but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind,
thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage,
but to cross with his army boldly by daylight ; for
he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still con-
fronting Agrippa. Looking down from the moun-
tains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was
clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as

CHAP.
XII
Octavian
crosses the
straits and
demands
the
surrender of
Tauro-
menium

CAP. XII. στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπών, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον προσέπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαζόμενος αὐτό, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν ἐστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποφικισμένοι.

110. Ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεῶς ἐκβαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤλισθε καὶ ἔπese καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ καθισταμένῳ ἔτι τὸ στρατόπεδον Πομπηίος ἐπέπλει στόλῳ πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἀδόκητον· ᾧετο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκπεπολεμηῆσθαι πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρήλαυνε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἡ ἵππος, ἐς τάχος διερίζουσα τῷ ναυτικῷ, καὶ τὰ πεζὰ ἐτέρωθεν ἐφαίνετο, ὥστε δεῖσαι μὲν ἅπαντας, ἐν μέσῳ τριῶν στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένους, δεῖσαι δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα, Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππέες εὐθὺς ἠνώχλου· οἱ Πομπηίου χαρακοποιουμένους ἔτι τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφώρμησε, τάχα ἂν τι μείζον ἐξήνυστο τῷ Πομπηίῳ. νῦν δὲ ἀπείρως τε πολέμου, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ θορύβου τῶν Καίσαρος, καὶ ὄκνου, μὴ μάχης περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ἄρχειν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Κόκκυνον ἄκραν ὠρμίσαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀξιούντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς Φοίνικα πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν, ὑπὸ δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala CHAP. XII
until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.

110. When Octavian disembarked from his ship he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius made his appearance with a large fleet—an astounding spectacle, since Octavian believed that he had been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry advanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side; so that the forces of Octavian were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavian himself was alarmed because he could not send for Messala. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavian's men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but as it was, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavian, and hesitating to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus, while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phoenix. Night coming on, they went to rest, and Octavian's soldiers finished their camp,

He is suddenly attacked by Pompeius on land and sea

CAP. κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλάπτοντο.
XII τέλη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱππέες χωρὶς ἵππων
πεντακόσιοι καὶ κούφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι
σύμμαχοι χωρὶς καταλόγου δισχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ
δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτοις.

111. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ πάντα Κορνιφικίῳ παρα-
δούς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν
πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὃ τι
ἐπέειπε· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας
ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, μὴ καὶ τοῦδε αὐτὸν
ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν
ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Καρισίῳ, λιβυρ-
νίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε καὶ περιέπλει πάντας
παρακαλῶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικὰ
σημεῖα, ὥς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὦν, ἀπέθετο.
ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου δις μὲν ἐπεχείρη-
σαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτησεν.
ἀλίσκομένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος
νεῶν, αἱ μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἱστίων
ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων
καταφρονοῦσαι· καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπ' ὀλίγον οἱ τοῦ
Πομπηίου διώξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρε-
ψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ἤρουν ὁμοίως, τὰς δὲ
ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν
ἐσενήχοντο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἱππέες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου
διέφθειρον ἢ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸ τοῦ
Κορνιφικίου στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς
ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεχείρει, τοὺς κούφους
ἐκπέμπων μόνους· οὐ γὰρ εὐκαιρὸν ἐδόκει κινεῖν
φάλαγγα δύσθυμον ἀντικαθημένων περὶ μεγало-
φρονομένων, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκῃ.

112. Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ἐς πολὺν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

but were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of sleep. They consisted of three legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet. CHAP.
XII

111. Octavian placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He himself took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carisius, and embarking himself on a liburnian, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavian's ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory. Octavian's
fleet
beaten and
dispersed

112. Octavian spent the greater part of the night

CAP.
XII

τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνακωχεύοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον, εἴτε ἐς Κορνιφίκιον ἐπανέλθοι διὰ μέσων τοσῶνδε ναυαγίων εἴτε ἐς Μεσσάλαν διαφύγοι, θεὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀβάλαν λιμένα παρήνευκε μεθ' ἑνὸς ὀπλοφόρου, χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ θεραπόντων. καὶ τινες ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐς πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων καταθέοντες εὗρον αὐτὸν τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσταλμένον, καὶ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐξ ἀκατίου μεταφέροντες, ἵνα διαλάθοι, μετεκόμισαν ἐς Μεσσάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὄντα. ὁ δ' εὐθύς, ἔτι ἀθεράπευτος, ἔς τε Κορνιφίκιον ἔστελλε λιβυρίδα καὶ πανταχοῦ διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν περιέπεμπεν, ὅτι σῶζοιτο, Κορνιφικίῳ τε πάντα ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμπειν βοήθειαν. θεραπεύσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐς Στυλίδαν νυκτὸς ἐξῆι, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόπλου τέλη· καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέραν, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἡξίου κινδυνεύοντι Κορνιφικίῳ πέμπειν Λαρόνιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως. Μαικῆναν δ' αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας· καὶ τινες παρακινοῦντες ἐκολάσθησαν. καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ἔπεμπεν, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς Ἰππώνειον.

113. Μεσσάλας δὲ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκηρύχεσαν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βρούτον φυγὼν, ἀποθανόντων ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀντωνίῳ παραδεδώκει. καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἀναμνησάμενος νῦν

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbour of Abala with a single armour-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him shattered in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he dispatched a liburnian to Cornificius, and set word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Styliis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail to the other side, whither he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Maecenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the first legion to Vibo.

113. This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems fitting to recall this fact now in honour of Roman

CHAP.
XII

Octavian
escapes to
the shore
and rallies
his land
forces

CAP. XII. ἔδοξεν ἐς ζήλωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς, ὅπου Μεσσάλας, μόνον ἔχων ἐν τοσῇδε συμφορᾷ τὸν προγράψαντα, ἐθεράπευεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ περιέσφζε.

Κορνιφίκιος δὲ ἀποτρέψασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εὐμαρῶς εἶχε τοὺς πολεμίους, κινδυνεύων δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε καὶ προυκαλεῖτο. Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπλεκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσασθαι δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὥδευεν ὁ Κορνιφίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντας ἀνόπλους ἔχων βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πεδινοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἱ Νομάδες Λίβυες ὄντες ἠκόντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπέφευγον.

114. Τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἣν ῥύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ μέχρι θαλάσσης κατιοῦσαν, ἐπικλύσαι καὶ σβέσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μόνῃς ὀδεύουσι νυκτός, πνιγώδῃ τε οὔσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ κονιορτοῦ σποδῶδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κορνιφίκιον οὔτε νυκτὸς ἐθάρρουν, ἐν ἀσελήνῳ μάλιστα, ἵεναι διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπεπνίγοντο καὶ τὰς βάσεις ὡς ἐν θέρει καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίοντο, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύνειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνοχλοῦσαν, οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν βαλλόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξήεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐτιτρώσκοντο

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, alone and overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him as his commander.

CHAP.
XII

Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled javelins from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies.

Cornificius
marches
across
Sicily

114. On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as far as the sea and dried up all the springs in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure it by day, but even suffocated, and the soles of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer; and since delay was impossible on account of the tormenting thirst, they no longer resisted their assailants, but re-

Terrible
sufferings
of his
troops

CAP. XII ἀφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τῆς διακεκαυμένης ἕτεροι κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπήδων ἐς τοὺς αὐχέναῖς οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς ὅσον εἶχον δυνάμεως. κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς αὐχένων ἀπεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν ἤδη καὶ μεθείντο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους καὶ κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου καὶ πηγὴν πλησίον οὖσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντος, οἱ μὲν αὖθις ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες, ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν πηγὴν κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παντελὴς ἤδη τοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου κατεῖχον ἀθυμία, καὶ παρίεντο.

115. Ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Λαρώνιος ἐπιφαίνεται μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι πεμφθεῖς, οὕτω μὲν ἔνδηλος ὢν, ὅτι φίλος εἶη· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος αἰεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀνέφερον αὖθις αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὅσον ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου δρόμῳ τὴν πηγὴν κατέλαβον. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκωλύοντο πίνειν ἀθρόως· ὅσοι δὲ ἡμέλησαν, ἔπινον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθνησκον.

Οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου Κορνιφίκιος καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περιεσώθη πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Μύλας· 116. ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα εἰλήφει, τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

ceived wounds without any means of defence. When they saw the place of exit from this burned district occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless of their sick and unprotected companions, dashed at the defile with amazing courage and overpowered the enemy with all their remaining strength. When they found the next defile occupied by hostile forces they gave way to despair and succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused them by showing them a spring of water near by ; and again they overpowered the enemy, but with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of enemies held possession of the fountain, and now Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way completely.

115. While they were in this state Laronius, who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as hope all the time led them to expect a friend, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength ; and when the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess : those who neglected this advice died while drinking.

In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and those of his army who managed to get away, escape to Agrippa at Mylae.¹ 116. Agrippa, however, had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither

¹ An error of Appian's : see below.

CAP. XII. πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ πεζὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας διεβίβαζεν. ἐγένοντο τε αὐτῷ πάντες ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὀπλιτῶν μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἐν τέλος. ἱππείες δὲ δισμῦριοι καὶ κοῦφοι πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων. Μύλας δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μυλῶν ἐπὶ τε Ναυλόχους καὶ Πελωριάδα καὶ τὰ παράλια πάντα φρουραὶ Πομπηίου κατεῖχον, αἱ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ἀγρίππου πῦρ διηνεκὲς ἔκαιον ὡς ἐμπρήσοντες τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας. ἐκράτει δὲ καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἐκατέρων ὁ Πομπήιος. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ Ταυρομένιον καὶ περὶ Μύλας τὰς περιόδους τῶν ὁρῶν ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ Τυνδαρίδος ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰόντα ἠνώχλει, μὴ συμπλεκόμενον. Ἀγρίππου δὲ νομισθέντος ἐπελεῖν ἐς Πελωριάδα μετεπήδησεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὰ στενὰ περὶ Μύλας· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τε κατέσχε καὶ Μυλῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμισίου, πολίχνης βραχυτάτης, ἐν ᾗ φασι τὰς Ἡλίου βούς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον Ὀδυσσεῖ.

117. Ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππου δόξης φανείσης, ὁ Πομπήιος ἡσθεὶς τῶν στενῶν ἀφηρεμένος καὶ Τισιηνὸν ἐκάλει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Τισιηνῷ δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα καὶ διημάρτανε τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ ὄρος τὸ Μυκόνιον, ἔνθα ἄσκητος ἐνυκτέρευεν· ὄμβρου τε πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος, οἷος ἐν φθινοπώρῳ γίγνεται, τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τινὲς τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀσπίδα Κελτικὴν ὑπερέσχον αὐτοῦ. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βρόμοι τῆς Αἴτνης σκληροὶ καὶ μυκήματα μακρὰ καὶ σέλα περιλάμποντα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Γερμανοὺς ἐξ εὐνίων

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Octavian transported his infantry and cavalry. He had in Sicily altogether twenty-one legions of infantry, 20000 cavalry, and more than 5000 light-armed troops. The garrison of Pompeius still held Mylae, and all places from Mylae to Naulochi and Pelorus, and all the coast. These garrisons, in fear of Agrippa, kept fires burning continually, signifying that they would set fire to any ships that should sail against them. Pompeius was also master of the defiles on both sides of the island. The mountain passes in the neighbourhood of Tauromenium and around Mylae were fortified by him, and he harassed Octavian when the latter was making a forward movement from Tyndaris, but not coming to an engagement. Believing that Agrippa was moving his fleet against him, Pompeius changed his position to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles around Mylae; and Octavian occupied them and also Mylae and Artemisium, a very small town, in which, they say, were the cattle of the Sun and where Ulysses fell asleep.

CHAP.
XII

Octavian
occupies
small towns
on the
northern
coast

117. When the report of Agrippa's movement turned out to be false, Pompeius was troubled that he had lost the defiles,¹ and he called to his assistance Tisienus, with his army. Octavian sought to intercept Tisienus, but lost his way around Mount Myconium. He passed the night there without tents. There was a heavy rainfall, as often occurs in the autumn, and some of his armour-bearers held a Gallic shield over his head the whole night. Harsh mutterings and prolonged roars from Mount Etna were heard, accompanied by flames which lighted up the camp, so that the Germans sprang from their

An eruption
of Etna

¹ ἡσθεῖς is no doubt an error. The sense requires "annoyed," not "pleased."

CAP. XII ἀναπηδᾶν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δέ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περὶ τῆς Αἴτνης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ἐν τοσοῖσδε παραδόξοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ῥύακα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστηνῶν γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνη παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφότεροι.

118. Γιγνομένων δ' ἂν' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἀψιμαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, Ταῦρον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου περικόπτειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας προκαταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμνων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκρινε μάχῃ μείζονι κριθῆναι περὶ πάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεδίει, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος ἤρετο πέμπων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχία κριθῆναι. ὁ δὲ ὠρρώδει μὲν τὰ ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι δεῦρο κεχρημένος αὐτοῖς, αἰσχροὺς δὲ νομίσας ἀντειπεῖν ἐδέχετο. καὶ ὠρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακόσiai νῆες ἐκατέρων ἰδία παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη τε παντοῖα φέρουσαι καὶ πύργους καὶ μηχανάς, ὅσας ἐπενόουν. ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἄρπαγα ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ξύλον πεντάπηχυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον, κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἐκατέρας· τῶν δὲ κρίκων εἶχετο τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἄρπαξ, σιδήριον καμπύλον, τοῦ δὲ καλῳδία πολλά, μηχαναῖς ἐπισπώμενα τὸν ἄρπαγα, ὅτε τῆς πολεμίας νεὼς ἐκ καταπέλτου λάβοιτο.

119. Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἐρετῶν ἄμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγ-

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if even the torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavian ravaged the territory of the Palaesteniens, where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messana.

118. As there had been many skirmishes throughout Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavian sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavian if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavian, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300 ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the "grip," a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the grip itself, an iron claw, to the other one numerous ropes, which drew it by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships.

119. When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed

CHAP
XII

Pompeius challenges Octavian to a naval engagement; the challenge is accepted

A stubborn and protracted contest

CAP.
XII

νυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστά εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάξαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργοτέραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαί τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι· καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνη κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἄρπαξ, ἔκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλωδίων ἐφέλκοιτο ὀπίσω· κοπήναί τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὖπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτουσι τὰ καλώδια ἐποίει· οὐδὲ τὸ μηχανήμά πω προέγνωστο, ὥς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι· ἐν δ' ἐπενόουν ὥς ἐν ἀδοκίῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιοούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἴση μὲν ἦν ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.

120. Ὅτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθίλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁμοίως εὖπορον· ὅπλοις τε γὰρ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῇ, τά τε συνθήματα μιγνυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξηνέκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλαι

against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the combatants and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power; the generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The "grip" achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, as soon as the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the grip did its work.

120. Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers

CAP. XII. παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντας ἀλλήλων ἐπεῖχεν ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσῃ γεμούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα πείραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ· τούτου δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἐκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφεώρων, ὥς ἐν τῇδε καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διέκρινόν γε μὴν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες, οἷα νεῶν ἐξακοσίων ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἐκατέρωθεν.

121. Μόλις δέ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναίς διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεῖς πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὥς ἤδη κατορθοῦντας· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐθις ἐμπесὼν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τοὺς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἐπτακαίδεκα νῆες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, αἱ μὲν ἐξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὀρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ ὀρμιζόμενας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνεπίμπρασαν· ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γιγνόμενα κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδοσαν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠλάλαξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνῶμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν

frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other, what with the fighting and the sea, now a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships; for they left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other.

CHAP.
XII

121. Judging from the colours of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavian who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself,

Agrippa
gains the
victory

CAP. XII. Ναυλόχων ἀναθορῶν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἡπείγετο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ' ἐπισκῆψας· ὅθεν καὶ τούσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισιηνοῦ παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἱππάρχων παραδιδόντων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες Καίσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέχθησαν ἢ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὀκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν· αἱ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα μόναι διέφυγον.

122. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὁδῷ περὶ τῆς μεταγνώμης τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα ἥλλαξεν ἐς ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος καὶ προὔπεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ δυνατά· παρεσκεύαστο δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ πολλοῦ. Πλένιον τε ἐκ Λιλυβαίου, μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν ὀκτὼ τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς μετὰ τῶνδε φευξόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἡπείγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτομολούντων δὲ ἐτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἐσπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένιον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένη, ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισεσσωκώς. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην παρήλθε καὶ κατεῖχε τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, Ἀγρίππαν δ' ἐκέλευσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέζεσθαι· καὶ παρεκάθητο σὺν Λεπίδῳ. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ σπονδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἡξίου περιμένειν Καίσαρα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, giving not even orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavian received the surrender of these also at the hands of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavian's ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.

CHAP.
XII
Pompeius
flees to
Messana

122. Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on ship-board everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plenius from Lilybaeum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plenius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait even for Plenius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, remembering that he had saved his mother in similar circumstances. After his departure Plenius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavian himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plenius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival

He departs
from Sicily

ARPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII ἐς ἑώ, Λέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πλενίου στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχώρει διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ.

- XIII

CAP. XIII Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἧς δὴ καὶ μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὐρόμενοι, τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλη τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου διήρπαζον καὶ μετεστρατεύοντο τῷ Λεπίδῳ· 123. ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο καὶ κρατήσῃν ἐδόκει Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχων, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίῃ τῆς νήσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγοιτο· ἐς τε τὰ φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ πάντα ἐκρατύνετο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐμέμφετο τῷ Λεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων, οἳ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἔφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρι ἐς Σικελίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ ἀντενεκάλει τῆς προτέρας τάξεως ἀφηρῆσθαι καὶ μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν Καίσαρα βουλομένῳ τε νῦν ἀντιδιδόναι Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, ὀνειδιῶν τὸν Λέπιδον ἐς χαριστίαν, διαπειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα αἱ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥρμουν ἐπ' 580

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

of Octavian, but Lepidus granted terms, and in order to conciliate the soldiers of Plenius to himself allowed them to join the rest of the army in plundering the city.

CHAP.
XII

Lepidus
plunders
Messana

XIII

THESE had asked for nothing but safety, and now, finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves under his standards. 123. Including this new accession, Lepidus now had twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry; so that he was elated, and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using the pretext that he was the first to invade the island and that he had induced many cities to join the triumvirs. He sent word at once to the garrisons of these places that they should not admit the emissaries of Octavian, and he seized all the defiles. Octavian arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus through friends, who reminded him that he had come into Sicily as an ally of Octavian, not to acquire it for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in the exclusive possession of Octavian, and that, if the latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and Sicily for that former allotment. Octavian, exasperated, came also in person to Lepidus in anger and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forthwith surrounded themselves with guards, and the ships of Octavian were anchored away from the

CHAP.
XIII

Lepidus
lays claim
to Sicily

CAP. XIII. ἀγκυρῶν· ἐλέχθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπινοεῖν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐμπρῆσαι.

124. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθετο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αὐ-
θις ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἕτερον καὶ οὐ ποτε σφᾶς ἐπι-
λείψουσιν αἱ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ Καίσαρα
καὶ Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρα-
τευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα
ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ
τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αὐτὸν ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἴσον
τοῖς ἡσσημένοις καταστάντες. ὣν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυν-
θανόμενος περιέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ συμφέροντα παραι-
νέσοντας κρύφα ἐκάστοις. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ διεφθάρato
πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ γενόμενοι τοῦ Πομπηίου
διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπονδὰς βεβαίους σφίσιν,
εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι
ταῦτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι' ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήλ-
θεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολ-
λοῖς, οὓς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπὼν ἐσῆει μετ'
ὀλίγων, καὶ παριὼν ἐπεμαρτύρετο ἐκάστοις ἄκων
ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτὸν
ὥς αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ὀρώντων, οἱ Πομπηϊανοὶ πρῶ-
τοι συνέθεον, ὅσοι διεφθάρato, καὶ συγγνώμην
σφίσι παρεκάλουν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, εἰ συγ-
γνώμην αἰτοῦντες οὐ πράσσουσιν οὐπω τὰ σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντες αὐτίκα ἤρπα-
ζον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ
σκηναὺς ἔλυνον ἕτεροι.

125. Καὶ τοῦ θορύβου Λέπιδος αἰσθόμενος
ἐξέθορε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. βολαί τε ἦσαν
ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ὀπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπιπτε,

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them. CHAP.
XIII

124. The soldiers were angry at the thought that they were to engage in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavian and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavian, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus; they also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavian learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavian did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavian came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while others began to take down their tents. Octavian
tamper
with his
troops

125. When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were already exchanged and one of Octavian's armour-bearers was Conflict
in Lepidus'
camp

CAP. καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη· τὸ
XIII δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἐξίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ
διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. Λεπίδου δέ τι φρου-
ριον ἐπετώθασε τῷ δρόμῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχεν ὁ
Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς
ἱππεῦσι καὶ καθελεῖν. ἐτέρων δ' αὖ φρουρίων
ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτός, μετετίθεντο
ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καίσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνεν τινὸς
πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ἱππέων μικρὰ
ἐνοχληθέντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὰς προσβολὰς ἔτι ὑπέ-
μενον καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος
περιεπέμπεν ἐς πάντα ἐπικούρους· καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ
τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Λεπίδου
στρατιά, καὶ εἴ τις εὖνους ἔτι ἦν, ἐτρέπετο τῇ
γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὖθις οἱ Πομπηϊανοί,
ὅσοι ἔτι ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, μετεπήδων κατὰ μέρος.
Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐφ-
οπλίσαντος, οἱ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὀπλισά-
μενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγοντο σημεῖα καὶ σὺν τοῖς
ἐτέροις ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. Λέπιδος δ'
αὐτοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἠπείλει καὶ ἐδεῖτο καὶ τῶν
σημείων εἵχετο καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν
φερόντων αὐτὰ τις εἶπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ
δείσας μεθῆκεν.

126. Οἱ δὲ ἱππées τελευταῖοι χωροῦντες ἔπεμ-
ψάν τινα πευσόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι
Λέπιδον, οὐκέτι ὄντα αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπεν.
οὕτω Λέπιδος, ἀδοκήτῳ πάντων ἀπιστία συμ-
πεσών, ἔρημος ἐκ τύχης τοσῆσδε καὶ στρατοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

killed. Octavian himself was struck by a weapon on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavian was so angry that he could not restrain himself from cutting them off with horsemen and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavian, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reinforcements in all directions; but when these also went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him, transferring themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed the other body to prevent them from going, but the very men who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavian with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up, until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go.

CHAP.
XIII

His
soldiers
desert him

126. The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavian to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus Lepidus found himself deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He

CAP. XIII. τοσοῦδε ἐγίγνετο ἐν βραχεῖ. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλάξας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Καῖσαρα δρόμῳ, συντρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θέᾳ τῶν ὁρώντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῷ προσθέοντι καὶ προσπεσεῖν ἐθέλοντα κωλύσας ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐφ' οὐπὲρ ἦν σχήματος, ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλὴν ἱερέα ἧς εἶχεν ἱερωσύνης.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος ἄρχοντάς τε ἀποφήνας καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοσοῦσδε ὁμοτίμους, ἰδιωτεύων καὶ ἐνίοις τῶν προγραφέντων ἄρχουσιν ὕστερον παριστάμενος διεβίωσε. 127. Πομπήιον δὲ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδίωκεν οὐδ' ἐτέροις ἐπέτρεπε διώκειν, εἴτε ὡς ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντωνίου φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καραδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ Ἀντωνίου καὶ πρόφασιν ἕξων διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίγνοιτο (οὐ γὰρ ἀνύποπτοί γε ἦσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἀλλήλοις διερίσειν), εἴθ', ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὕστερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνος ὁ Πομπήιος. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνῆγε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἱππέες δισμῦριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, κοῦφοι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακραί τε νῆες ἑξακόσαι. τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίδων πλῆθος, καίπερ ὄν ἄπειρον, τοῖς δεσπόταις διέπεμψε. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινικίοις ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἤδη διδούς, τὰ δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἅπασιν ἔνεμεν καὶ συγγνώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ Πομπηίου.

128. Ζήλου δὲ αὐτῷ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

changed his costume and hastened to Octavian, all the spectators running with him to enjoy the spectacle. Octavian started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priesthood, which he held.

CHAP.
XIII

He is
deposed
from his
command

And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favours of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period. 127. Octavian neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavian said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse and some 40,000 light-armed troops, with 600 war-ships; he had also an immense number of merchant-vessels, which nevertheless he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honours to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

Octavian
does not
pursue
Pompeius

128. With all this success he was prosperous

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP.
XIII

δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσῃσε τοῦ ζήλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς
ἐστασίασεν, ὁ οἰκέιός αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθῆναί
τε τῆς στρατείας ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν
ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισαμένοις. ὁ δὲ ᾗδει
μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὑπι-
σχνεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ'
Ἀντωνίῳ στρατενομένοις, ὅτε κακείνος ἀφίκηται.
περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀστρατείας ὑπεμίμνησκε σὺν ἀπειλῇ
τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὄρκων καὶ κολάσεων.
οὐκ εὐπειθῶς δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὑφῆκε τῆς ἀπειλῆς,
ἵνα μὴ τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπιγένοιτο
θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τε ἀπολύσειν σὺν
Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξιον νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι,
πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοῦς
καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις
κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλουτιεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ
δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐθις στρατεύσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν
προτέρων λαβεῖν γέρα τε καὶ τιμὰς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη
τὰς τιμὰς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δοῦς
προστιθέναι στεφάνους ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους
καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχοις περιπορφύρους
ἐσθῆτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν
ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος ἕτερα,
ὑπεφώνησε χιλιάρχος Ὀφίλλιος στεφάνους μὲν
καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

beyond words, and of his great prosperity Fortune became jealous. His army revolted, especially his own troops. They demanded to be discharged from the service and that rewards should be given them equal to those given to the men who fought at Philippi. Octavian knew that the present war had not been of the same grade as that one. He promised nevertheless to pay what their services were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when he too should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honours of the previous wars. He said that he would not even now postpone the honours, but that he had distributed many prizes, and now gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity of chief councillors in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the tribune Ofillius exclaimed that crowns and purple garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards

CHAP.
XIII

Mutiny in
the army

Octavian
appears and
rewards his
troops

CAP. XIII γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα· καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος, ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγοι, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν χιλιάρχον ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενοι. ὁ δ' ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω δικαίοις.

Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν τότε εἰπὼν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφανὴς ἦν, καὶ οὐδ', ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο. 129. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μὲν, ὑπὸ δέους, οὐδεὶς καθ' ἓνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δ' ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συνιστάμενοι, ἀφεθῆναι τῶν στρατειῶν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐξωμίλει ποικίλως, τῶν δ' ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσαμένων, ὡς χρονιωτέρων ἄρα ὄντων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρατεύεσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐς δισμυρίους εὐθύς ἀπέλυε καὶ ἐξέπεμπε τῆς νήσου, μὴ διαφθείραιεν ἐτέρους, τοσόνδε τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπὼν, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυθεῖσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας ἐμαρτύρετο τῆς ἐπιorkίας, οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ἐπήνει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἀπολύσειν μὲν ταχέως, ὅτε μηδεὶς μετανοήσει, καταπλουτιεῖν δὲ ἀπολύων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἐκάστῳ. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελία μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξακόσια, στρατηγούς δ' ἀπέφαινε Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐς ἑκατέραν διήρει καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς Ἀντωνίου διέπεμπεν ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude CHAP. cried out "Well said"; whereupon Octavian de- XIII scended from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered round the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them, and the tribune said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause. After saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him.

129. The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavian conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolvers, who had been dismissed not by the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would regret it, that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed *propraetors* for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he

CAP. XIII. τὸν μὲν προύπεμπεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν, τὸν δ' ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου διεπέρα.

130. Ἐρχομένῳ δ' ἡ τε βουλὴ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο ἀμέτρους, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτὴν, ἡ πάσας λαβεῖν ἡ ὅσας δοκιμάσειε· καὶ ὑπῆντων ὅτι πορρωτάτῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανωμένοι εἰς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπιόντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης αὐτὸς ἐβουλευγόρησέ τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς τότε καταλέγων· καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε. κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν, εἰς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνηρημένων, καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν τοὺς ἔτι ὀφείλοντας ἀπέλυε καὶ φόρων τελώνας τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα ἔχοντας ὧν ἔτι ὀφείλοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καθ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἐστάναι μετὰ σχήματος οὐπερ ἔχων εἰσῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίονι νεῶν ἐμβόλων. καὶ ἔστηκεν ἡ εἰκὼν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὅτι "τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν".

131. Τούτῳ δὲ δήμῳ τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἣν ἕνα ἔχειν νενόμισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κτείνειν τὸν Λέπιδον ὡς πολέμιον κελευόντων οὐκ ἠνείχετο. εἰς δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα σεσημασμένης ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντας ἀνελήσαντας αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

CHAP.
XIII
He returns
to Italy
Unbounded
honours
bestowed
on him
at Rome

130. When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honours, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and published in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honours voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column covered with the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription :—

“PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE RE-ESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA.”

131. When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed on one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a day designated and to execute the orders contained

He refuses
to punish
Lepidus

CAP. XIII. κεκελευσμένοις. καὶ ἦν τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα περὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσοι παρὰ τὴν στάσιν ἀποδράντες ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ᾗτήκει Πομπήιος, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι δεδώκεσαν. οἱ δὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας συνελαμβάνοντο. καὶ ἀχθέντας αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ Σικελιώταις. ὅσους δ' οὐκ ἦν ὁ ληψόμενος, ἔκτεινε παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἀπέδρασεν.

132. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἐδόκει τέλος εἶναι. καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυν. ληστευομένης δὲ κατὰ συστάσεις τῆς τε Ῥώμης αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιφανῶς καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἀρπαγῇ μετὰ τόλμης ἢ ληστεία λανθανούσῃ μᾶλλον ἐοικότων, Σαβίνος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἰρεθεὶς εἰς διόρθωσιν πολλὴν μὲν εἰργάσατο φθόρον τῶν ἀλίσκομένων, ἐνιαυτῷ δ' ὁμῶς εἰς εἰρήνην ἀφύλακτον ἅπαντα περιήγαγε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶ παραμεῖναι τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἔθος τε καὶ εἶδος. θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐξ ἀδοκῆτου διωρθωμένῳ πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε, καὶ τὴν ἐντελὴ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ παραγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κἀκεῖνον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὶ εὐφημοῦντες εἶλοντο δήμαρχον ἐς αἰεὶ, διηνεκεῖ ἄρα

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

therein. These orders related to slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavian returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded.

CHAP. .
XIII

Robbery
suppressed

132. This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavian was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavian to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavian excited astonishment by putting an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the country. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would restore the constitution entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual

Octavian
chosen
tribune
for life

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

- CAP.
XIII ἀρχῇ προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀποστῆναι. ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο ἤμην καὶ τήνδε, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύβλον ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ἔπεμπε καὶ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπενόει συστρατεύειν.

XIV

- CAP.
XIV 133. Πομπήιος δ' ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄκρα Λακινία προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἥρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασιν ἐσύλησε, φεύγων ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ἐς δὲ Μιτυλήνην καταχθεὶς διέτριβεν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο ὁ πατήρ, Γαίῳ Καίσαρι πολεμῶν, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν Μηδίᾳ Μήδοις τε καὶ Παρθυαίοις, γνῶμην ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπύθετο ἡσσῆσθαι Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἢ φήμη μειζόνως μετέφερεν, αὐθις ἦν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ὥς ἡ διαδεξόμενος Ἀντώνιον, εἰ τέθνηκεν, ἢ μεριούμενος ἐπανελθόντι· ἐνθύμιός τέ οἱ συνεχὲς ἦν Λαβιηνὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιδραμών. ὧδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλλεται Ἀντώνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπαγελθών. καὶ τεχνάζων ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα διεπρεσβεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ καὶ φίλον εἶναι διδοὺς καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ
- 596

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference to the government. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavian. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavian had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

CHAP.
XIII

XIV

133. POMPEIUS, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Caesar, had bestowed him with his mother, while still a boy, and after his defeat had joined him again. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to entrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been beaten, and this result was more than confirmed by reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming for both objects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter's disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information about Antony's affairs. At the

CHAP.
XIV

Sextus
Pompeius
flees to
Antony

He forms
plans to
assist or
supersede
him

CAP. XIV. τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκεπτόμενος· ἔς τε Θράκην καὶ ἔς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμπεν ἑτέρους κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ κρατεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμουμένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Παρθυαίους, ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτοὺς δέξεσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖόν τε καὶ παῖδα Μάγνου μάλιστα. τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς στρατὸν ἐγύμναζεν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἢ δεδιέναι Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

134. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου, στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τίτιον ἤρητο καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε πολεμοῦντι μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπιτρέποντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀγγέλλουσιν οὕτως· “ ἡμᾶς Πομπήιος ἔπεμψεν οὐκ ἀπορῶν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, διαπλεῦσαι, φίλην οὔσαν αὐτῷ πατρίθην καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὄντι νεωτέρῳ καὶ καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν, αἰρούμενος δὲ εἰρηνεύειν τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεήσειεν, ὑπὸ σοί. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἔτι κρατῶν Σικελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοὶ τὴν σὴν μητέρα περισώσας ἔπεμπε, προύτεινε. καὶ εἰ ἐδέξω, οὐτ' ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς κατ' αὐτοῦ παρέ-
598

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

same time he sent others secretly to the princes of Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not obtain what he desired from Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavian, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony.

134. As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honour if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the messengers who had arrived, and addressed him as follows: "Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he cannot take refuge (if he were minded to continue the war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account, which espoused his own cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, and, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavian with ships against him), nor would you have been

CHAP.
XIV

Antony
sends Titius
against him

Pompeius'
embassy

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV. σχες), οὐτ' ἂν σὺ ἤττησο ἐν Παρθυαίοις, Καίσαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαντος, ὃν συνέθετο· ἐκράτεις δ' ἂν ἤδη πρὸς οἷς εἶχες καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενον δέ σε ταῦτα, ἐν καιρῷ τότε μάλιστ' ἂν σοι γενόμενα, ἀξιοῖ καὶ νῦν μὴ πολλάκις ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι λόγοις τε καὶ τῷ γενομένῳ κήδει, μνημονεύοντα, ὅτι Πομπηίῳ τε κηδεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέμησεν ἄνευ προφάσεως, καὶ Λέπιδον κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος ἀφείλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα αὐτῶν ἐνείματό σοι.

135. “Λοιπὸς δ' ἐς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρχίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπη· ἤδη γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἦν, εἰ μὴ Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τὰδε εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, προφέρει δέ σοι καὶ Πομπήιος ὑπὸ εὐνοίας, αἰρούμενος ἄνδρα ἄκακον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε καὶ δολεροῦ καὶ φιλοτέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμφεται σοι τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀντιλαβεῖν στρατὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπομιμνήσκει, τὸν οὐ πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, Πομπήιος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει σοι μετὰ τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἔτι ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστοτάτου γε ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταλιπόντος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν Μάγνου παῖδα περισφύζοις, πολεμοῦντι δὲ μοῖραν ἱκανὴν ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὐπω παρόντα.”

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavian not sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavian's words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against him after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also deprived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, and divided neither part of it with you.

135. "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for: indeed he would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of goodwill, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavian against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you of that army which was not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, in fact is as good as come."

CAP.
XIV

136. Τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξέφερεν, ἃς ἐντείλειτο Τιτίῳ· καὶ εἰ τῷ ὄντι ταῦτα φρονοῖν Πομπήιος, ἤξιεν αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθυαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤχθησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπηίου πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς ληφθέντας αὐτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυνεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς παρηγοῦντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέους, εἰ ἄρα μὴ προσοῖτο φιλίως αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγκασθέντα καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθίστων ἀποπειρᾶσαι· δηλώσειεν τὸ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι πείρας ἢ μηχανῆς δεόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευσεν, ὣν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἀπλοῦς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

137. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐδέχετο, οὔτε κωλύειν ἀξιόμαχος ὦν οὔτε πω τὴν γνώμην εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀντωνίου· γυμνάζοντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν κατέλεγέ τινας ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἄρχοντα γείτονος στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἐτέρωθεν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν. συνελθόντων δ' ὁξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμιον ἡγοῦνται τὸν πρέσβεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλκότα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου περιμένοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων Ἀηνόβαρβον ὁμῶς ἐπενόει συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας Κουρίου τινὸς

THE CIVIL WARS; BOOK V

136. When the messengers had thus spoken, Antony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius, and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of mind he would be coming in person under the escort of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alexandria. After Antony had examined each of them he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and showed the captives to them. They made excuses for Pompeius even then as a young man in a desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They said that he would show his true disposition as soon as he should learn Antony's, and would then need no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them, being in other respects and at all times of a frank, magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature.

CHAP.
XIV

Antony
captures
the envoys
of Pompeius
to the
Parthians

137. In the meantime Furnius, who was governing the province of Asia for Antony, had received Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to prevent him and did not yet know Antony's mind. Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he mustered a force from the provincials and hastily summoned Ahenobarbus, who had command of an army in the vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side. They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and was waiting for an answer from him. While he was saying this he was meditating the project of seizing Ahenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of

B.C. 35

CAP. XIV. τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἔξειν μοῖραν Ἀηνόβαρβον. γνωσθείσης δ' οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κούριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀπέθῃνε, Πομπήιος δὲ Θεόδωρον ἐξελεύθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνήδει τὸ βούλευμα, ὡς ἐξειπόντα ἔκτεινεν. οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον λήσειν ἐλπίσας, Λάμψακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἣ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἰταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Γαῖου Καίσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγάλοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτευσεν τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς. ἤδη δὲ ἔχων ἱππέας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τρία τέλη, ἐπεχείρησε Κυζίκῳ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσαντο· καὶ γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς Ἀντωνίῳ, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τρεφομένων αὐτῷ μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ἐπανελθὼν ἐσιτολόγει.

138. Φουρνίου δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, αἰεὶ δ' αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ σιτολογεῖν οὐκ ἐῶντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ὃ Πομπήιος ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχων ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν ἐκ περιόδου λαθὼν. ὅθεν ὁ Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεστραμμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου διώκων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεδίου ὑγρὸν ἐξ ὀμβρῶν. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι. προσδεχομένων δὲ ἀπὸ τε Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, placed there as colonists by Gaius Caesar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because Antony had a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbour of the Achaeans and collected provisions.

138. Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain, which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew for the time to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While those who, impoverished by continual exactions, enlisted gladly

CHAP
XIV

Double
dealing
of Pompeius
discovered

He begins
hostilities
against
Antony's
lieutenants

CAP. καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, οἱ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς
XIV εἰσφοράς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπηίῳ
κατὰ δόξαν μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένι
γενομένης νίκης, ἱππικοῦ δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Πομπήσιος,
καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ βλαπτόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς,
ἐπύθετο ἱλὴν ἱππέων Ἰταλικὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον
χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν Ἀθή-
ναις ἀπεσταλμένην· καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπέ τινας ἐς
διαφθορὰν τῆς ἱλῆς μετὰ χρυσίου.

Ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡγούμενος
Ἀντωνίῳ συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι
διένειμεν· 139. ὁ δὲ Πομπήσιος Νίκαιάν τε καὶ
Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς,
καὶ ἐς μεγάλα ταχέως αὐτῷ πάντα ἠΐξετο παρ'
ἐλπίδα. Φουρνίῳ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν παραστρατοπε-
δεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἦκον ἐκ Σικελίας, ἦρος ἀρχο-
μένου, νῆες ἐβδομήκοντα, ὅσαι περιεσώθησαν ἐξ
ῶν Ἀντώνιος ἐκεχρήκει κατὰ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι
(μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὰς ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἀπέλυσεν), ἦκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος ἐτέραις
ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ
κατήραν ἅπαντες ἐς Προκόννησον. δείσας οὖν
ὁ Πομπήσιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας
ῥῥησεν, ὡς ἄμεινον ὁμοῦ πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν γῆν
συννοισόμενος. Κάσσιος δὲ ὁ Παρμήσιος καὶ
Νασίδιος καὶ Σατορνῖνος καὶ Θέρμος καὶ Ἀν-
τίστιος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἔτι τῷ
Πομπηίῳ παρήσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος αὐτῷ
Φάννιος καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου Δίβων
ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ Τιτίου παρόντος, ὅτῳ τὰ περὶ
αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐπέτρεπε, πανόμενον τοῦ πρὸς
τὸν ἀμείνονα πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ

THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK V

under Pompeius especially on account of the reputation he had gained by his victory at the harbour of the Achaeans, were awaiting help from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, Pompeius, deficient in cavalry, and thus crippled in procuring supplies, learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to corrupt this troop.

Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and distributed their gold to the cavalry: 139. but Pompeius took Nicea and Nicomedia, from which he obtained large supplies of money, and his strength was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was camping not far away from him, was reinforced, at the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those that Antony had lent to Octavian against Pompeius; for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavian had dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with 120 additional ships and a large army; and all these had landed at Proconnesus. So Pompeius became alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better advantage with all of his forces combined on land. Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius, who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not desist from war against superior forces even after Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had

CHAP.
XIV

Antony
sends
reinforce-
ments
against him

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIV. *πράξαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον μετήλθον.*

140. Ὁ δ' ἔρημος ὧν ἤδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει, λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπείγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτόν, νυκτὸς ἀναξεύξαντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίωκεν ὃ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀμύντας. συντόνῳ δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἐσπέραν καταλαβόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινί, ἄνευ τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὥς ἐν ἐσπέρᾳ καὶ κόπῳ. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν εὐναζομένους ἔτι καὶ ἀναπηδώντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν αἰσchrῶς ἔφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἢ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενομένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατῆσαι. νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ὑπερεῖδε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τοιῷδε πλέον ἢ αὐθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον ἐχώρει· οἱ δ' ἀλίσθεντες εἶποντο καὶ σιτολογοῦντα ἠνώχλουν, ἕως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἠξίωσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γεγενομένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιωτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

141. Ποταμὸν δ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν ἔλεγε μὲν, ὅτι πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπετίθει δ', ὅτι τροφῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, τάδε ἐργάσαιτο. “ ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντωνίου γνώμη πολεμεῖτέ μοι, κακῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βουλεύεται, τὸν ἐπιόντα πόλεμον οὐ

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arrived, despaired of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony. CHAP
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140. Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight half dressed as they were. It is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by some evil genius, he let slip these opportunities also, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut him off from supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others. A night
battle

141. Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and they supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you fight against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the Pompeius
offers to
surrender
to Furnius,
who refuses
to accept
him

CAP. XIV. προορώων· εἰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην φθάνετε, μαρτύρομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρεσβείαν μου τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένην ἢ λαβόντας ἄγειν ἤδη πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐπιτρέψω δ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐγὼ σοὶ μόνῳ, Φούρνιε, τοσοῦτον ἐς πίστιν αἰτήσας, ὅτι με σῶον ἄξεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον.” ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, Ἀντωνίῳ τε θαρρῶν ὡς ἀγαθῷ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μόνῃ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ δεδιώς· ὁ δὲ Φούρνιος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἡμέψατο· “ἐπιτρέποντος μὲν ἦν ἑαυτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ χωρεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ περιμένειν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, πολεμοῦντος δέ, ἃ πεποίηκας ἅπαντα· τί γὰρ αὐτὰ δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν; εἰ δὲ νῦν μετέγνωκας, μὴ συγκρούειν μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς ἀλλήλους, Τιτίῳ δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν· Τιτίῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ σὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου· καὶ πίστιν, ἣν αἰτεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐνι σοὶ καὶ Τίτιον αἰτεῖν. κεκέλευσται δ' ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πολεμοῦντα μὲν σε κατακαθεῖν, ἐγχειρίζοντα δὲ πέμπειν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐντίμως.”

142. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Τιτίῳ μὲν ἀχαριστίας ὠργίζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμέμῳ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον περισεσώκει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἡδόξει, Πομπήιος ὢν, ἐπὶ Τιτίῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ πάνυ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ ὑπώπτευσεν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ βέβαιον ἔς τε τὸν τρόπον ὑπονοῶν καὶ τινα συγγινώσκων ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν παλαιὰν πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. Φουρνίῳ δ' αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε καὶ δέξασθαι

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coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's intentions, I protest and implore you to wait for the embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone, Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus because he had confidence in Antony as a man of generous nature, and he apprehended merely that something might happen to him on the journey. Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wish to surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war you should have done as you have done; for why is it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows them? If now you repent, do not bring us, generals, into collision with each other, but surrender yourself to Titius, to whom these matters have been entrusted by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honourable manner."

142. Pompeius was angry with Titius for his ingratitude, in that he undertook to wage this war against him, for he had once been taken prisoner and spared by Pompeius. Besides being angry he considered it beneath his dignity that a Pompeius should be in the power of Titius, who was not of noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either because he was acquainted with his character and did not consider him trustworthy, or because he was conscious of some old injury done to him previous to the benefaction above mentioned. Again

CAP. XIV. παρεκάλει. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντα ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειν. τοῦ Φουρνίου δὲ φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἂν δέξασθαι τόδε ὕβριν ἔχον ἐς τὸν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένον, διελύθησαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα ἦν, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδώσει τῷ Τιτίῳ· ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς σαλπικτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς νυκτός, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος, ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἷς οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν, οἱ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ' ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθὼν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Τιτίου ναυτικόν. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον ἐμήνυσσε καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ᾔδει. τότε δὴ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἵππεῦσιν Ἀμύντας ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα. καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου πλησιάσαντα μετεχώρουν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερῶς. μονούμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ δεδιὼς ἤδη τὰ οἰκεία, ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἀμύντῃ, ὁ Τιτίῳ μετὰ σπονδῶν ἀδοξήσας.

143. Οὕτω μὲν ἐάλω Πομπήιος Σέξστος, ὁ λοιπὸς ἔτι παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, νεώτερος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μεράκιον ἤδη, λαθὼν δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐς πολὺ καὶ κρύφα ληστεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συνδραμόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπηίου

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he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and begged that he would receive him. When the latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had entrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not previously been advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

143. Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made

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Pompeius
refuses to
surrender
to Titius

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παῖδα, ἐλήστευέ τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἤγειρε πολὺν καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ νήσους εἴλε, καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὰς δύοσις θαλάσσης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιήνεγκεν ἐς λιμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις, ἃς ἤθελε. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει πανώλεθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περιέσωσεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλοὺς, οἳ τότε δι' αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς οὐ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ τῆς τύχης εὐκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ' ἡμύνητο μόνον.

144. Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιόσδε γενόμενος ἐαλώκει, Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστράτευσεν Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκαυεν, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ, μνηίων ἄρα τῆς ποτὲ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀχάριστος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα εὐεργεσίαν γενόμενος, εἴτε καὶ ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντωνίου. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγράφειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ Πλάγκον δὲ γράφαι νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν συνειδότες Ἀντωνίου καὶ αἰδουμένου γράφαι διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὖνως ἔχουσιν τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγνον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ φυλαξάμενον, μὴ τὴν αἰσίαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδῶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Πομπηίῳ συνεργούσα ἀνατρέψαιεν.

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himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Caesar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his enemies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most importance was the aid that he rendered in the proscriptions to Rome when exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with some strange aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities; he only defended himself.

144. After such a career Pompeius was taken prisoner. Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Some think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favourable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the co-operation of Cleopatra, should disturb the auspicious respect between Antony and Octavian.

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145. Ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ αὐθις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἐστράτευε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριούς, οἳ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντές πω Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀποστάντες. καί μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς γενόμενά μοι γνῶριμα οὔτε συντελοῦντα μῆκος ἰδίας συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν ἔχοντα ἐτέρωθι λεχθῆναι, τοῦ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐς τέλος, προαναγράψαι καὶ ὑποθεῖναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὁμόρῳ Μακεδονικῇ.

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145. After the death of Pompeius Antony made a new expedition to Armenia, and Octavian made one against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom had never been subject to the Romans, while others had revolted during the civil wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well known to me, and are not of sufficient length to make a book by themselves, and have no suitable place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them above (beginning with the time when Illyria was acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to the end),¹ and added them to the history of Macedonia, which marches with Illyria.

¹ The meaning is doubtful.

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Pr. denotes the Preface. K. the book Concerning the Kings. It. Italy. Sa. Samnite History. G. Gallic History. Si. Sicily and the Islands. Sp. Wars in Spain. H. Hannibalic War. Pu. Punic Wars. Nu. Numidian fragments. Ma. Macedonian fragments. Il. Illyrian Wars. Sy. Syrian Wars. Mi. Mithridatic Wars. C. I, C. II, etc., Civil Wars I, II, etc. The Arabic numerals signify sections.

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